

INSIDE: The Tory attack on government companies

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 5, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 5, 1984 VOL. 37 NO. 45

COVER

The countdown to decision day

As the U.S. presidential election campaign entered its final days, voters found themselves deciding on the basis of image rather than issues. The race between Republican President Ronald Reagan and Democratic challenger Walter Mondale crystallized in the Reagan image: an apparently invulnerable leader who has outlasted almost all the firsts.

—Page 29

COVER BY STEPHEN DODD



An assault on the Crown

Planned budget cutbacks at the CRTC are only the opening salvo in the Conservative government's assault on the operations of 400 Crown corporations.

—Page 26



Another son on the way

Mother-to-be Margaret Kemper is excited about an addition to her new family, and so are her sons from her marriage to Pierre Trudeau.

—Page 59



Ottawa's season of secrecy

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's new Tory administration remains an enigma, characterized mainly by its secrecy and its fluctuating public relations postures.

—Page 14



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Big Brother's stage debut

Edmonton's Citadel Theatre gave a world premiere to this year's only authorized dramatic version of George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

—Page 52

Thatcher vs. the IRA

In effect, what you are saying is your Oct. 22 editorial, "Disarm the IRA," is that the only way to deal with terrorism is complete surrender. Such a course would lead only to further terrorism by any other group that feels it wishes to overturn a democratic set of rules. Compare it to the IRA trying to force Ontario to yield and become completely subservient to terrorism in that province. An imaginary situation, of course, but must Ottawa then yield to such an approach?

—JOE GARNETT
Calgary

As a native of Northern Ireland I have been outraged by your proposed solution to the Irish question. You are probably right when you imply that terror needs to be fought with terror. The British found that out when conducting counter-insurgency in Malaya. The former government of Northern Ireland did a reasonable job of beating terrorism by using the special police. The British did the worst of the special police by Prime Minister Harold Wilson and the subsequent abolishment of the Northern Irish government opened the floodgates to its terrorism which has escalated to the present situation. If Britain were to commit the deplorable folly of abandoning the Protestant majority of Northern Ireland and handing them over to the Irish Republic, that would inflame a bloodbath, compared to which the present situation would seem like child's play. But perhaps you have a mind setting up Northern Ireland as a separate nation with the ability to reconstruct the special police and defeat the



Thatcher fighting terror with terror

terrorists by their own methods. This solution would be welcomed by those Protestant extremists who follow Rev. Ian Paisley.

—W.E. GARDNER
Edmonton

I have no sympathy for Margaret Thatcher. The British government created the IRA when it allowed the legitimate protests of the civil rights activists in 1969 to be brutally suppressed with police batons and bullets. A whole series of British actions, all involving the discriminatory use of power, has succeeded in alienating the Catholic population to such an extent that the moderate Sinn Féin party has now been surpassed by Sinn Féin, which believes that only war can drive the British out of Ireland. Thatcher has done more than Rev. Ian Paisley to get revenge for the IRA. She must, then, deserves the monster she nourished.

—A. MCCREATH
Kamloops

The quintessential Canadian

Regarding "Countdown for a Canadian astronaut" (Opinion, Oct. 8) I find it especially refreshing that Canada finally has an ambassador worthy of his post. According to your excellent article, Mike Garneau is a man fit to represent a country as Canada. Canadians may no longer have to be identified with those beer-drinking, bawdy-punches, Bob and Doug McKenzie in your opinion, Garneau epitomizes the quintessential Canadian soul, as a Canadian, I am proud to have him as the first Canadian astronaut in space.

—MARK DE SOUSA
Surrey/Burnaby, Ont.

PASSAGES

1422 François Truffaut, 55, French film director and movie critic who, with Jean-Luc Godard, formed a New Wave group of filmmakers in France in the late 1960s, of course, at the American Hospital in Neuchâtel-sur-Seine, a Swiss suburb. The new wave of filmmaking brought the role of the director from behind the scenes to star position and turned Truffaut into an important film figure. A winning critic when he wrote for a movie magazine in the 1960s, Truffaut demanded much of himself as a filmmaker. Of his more than 20 pictures most became classics, including *Shoot the Piano Player*, *Jules and Jim*, *Stolen Kisses*, *The Story of Adele H.* and *Day for Night*, which won an Academy Award for best foreign film in 1973. Truffaut often appeared in his own films and played the French scientist in Steven Spielberg's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*.

1423 Rainer Barzel, 68, from his position as speaker of the lower house of the West German government, after he was implicated by a parliamentary investigative committee as having received \$500,000 from the Black industrial group in 1973 for agreeing to step down as leader of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) in favor of Helmut Kohl, the country's current chancellor. Barzel, a political protégé of former chancellor Konrad Adenauer, rose to chairman of the CDU in 1971 and mounted an unsuccessful campaign to defeat the outgoing government of Willy Brandt. The committee is investigating allegations that the Black group has offered bribes to other politicians, including former economics minister Otto Lübbers. Barzel has denied the allegations.

1424 Odette Wrenier, 67, the Austrian actor who was nominated for an Oscar in 1968 for her role in *Sins of Fathers* at a heart attack in Marlburg, West Germany. Wrenier performed both on the stage and in movies and is best remembered in Germany for his role as Shakespeare's Hamlet. His best-known films include *Devotion Before Dawn*, *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, *Permettez-moi*, *The Shoes of the Fisherman* and *Wages of the Damned*, made in 1976.

1425 writer Richard Brautigan, 38, of underutilized genius at his home in Bolinas, Calif. Best known for his free-wheeling 1962 novel, *Threat of Ruin*, in America, which sold more than two million copies. Brautigan symbolized the hippies era for his love of rodents. His novels include *Mr. Brautigan's Super*, *A Confederacy of General from the Star and Willard* and *His Sleeping People*. He also published five books of verse.

The hanging debate

John Porter's quote in the Oct. 8 cover box "freakish echoes of a double hanging" that "society to some extent has to have a feeling there is some proportion put there" is the most honest summation of the "retentionist" position I have come across. Capital punishment is a sham, as a attempt to convince ourselves that we are doing something tough and purposeful. Executions will never be anything more than human sacrifice to frustration, rage and impotence. People do terrible things, but no matter how horrible their crimes or how sad and scary we may be, we need better excuses for killing them than a double attempt to comfort and reassure ourselves.

—JOHN LINDVALL
Nelson, Ont.

For every Donald Marshall, there are countless other victims who would be alive today if their capturers had been executed rather than released to repeat their crimes ("Hanging," Cover, Oct. 8). When he was Clifford Olson was given life sentences (at 20 years expense to the taxpayer), they have nothing to lose and, therefore, put the lives of other people in great jeopardy as they try to escape. By dwelling on the horrors of the severe you are merely trying to ease your readers. If capital punishment is reinstated, Canada will definitely follow the lead of the United States and quite rightly execute by means of lethal injection. Let us hope that the present government permits an open vote in Parliament and that our legislators heed the will of the people.

—ROBERT SCHMIDT
Victoria

The worst aspect of "bringing back the hangman" is that it would just give us a chance to pretend we had done something about crime when we had not. The present debate about capital punishment is wasting our collective money. We should be debating the roots of violence in family and public life. These questions are so painful that evidently many people would rather make the cheap theatrical gesture of a hanging. It only delays the issue. Every murder is our failure to protect the person who was killed. The murderer stands for our failure. To hang him or her is to sweep the failure under the carpet, whereas if we live with our failures, we can learn from them.

—RUSSELL MARRAS
Moncton

The resolution most fed on the subject of capital punishment is based less on the rational elimination of murderers than on the method employed—hanging. The use of lethal gas is the most acceptable of all forms of administering the capital prize to those guilty of parricide.

used murder and the killings of prison guards and politicians—the very man expected to investigate the public from senseless and brutal slayings. To permit leniency to those guilty "beyond a shadow of a doubt" of multiple murders and heinous crimes resulting in the death of their victims is a monstrous offense against society. We are not contented with a deterrent here. We are inviting merely on a basic human right—the removal of a citizen who has given himself unworthy of cohabitation with his fellow man.

—NAN GREFF
Winnipeg

Why don't we admit it? Gurn is a cruel society. Major and minor forms of violence abound. Watch TV or go to a movie. Read the newspaper. Follow the news of famous people. In this cruel society abolitionists are out of touch. Capital punishment is the right in with the dream of the times. Rather than a belief it we should tolerate it and show it to our children—as we already do.

—H.J. WOODS
Montreal

I cannot believe that a so-called democratic country will not follow the wishes

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of the quiet majority of Canadians (on capital punishment). The possible intervention by the Supreme Court of Canada should not be allowed. Do the people of Canada have any control or say in the government? Apparently not?

—JAMES WISE,
Leader, Saskatchewan

A moral referendum

You, in common with all abolitionists, ignore two profound realities of the death penalty issue ("The deadly debate," From The Editor's Desk, Oct. 8). The first is that death does deny that particular killer from repeating his crime. The second is that by keeping these criminals alive, as the record shows, we assure that a few will get the chance to kill again. I am strongly in favour of putting murderers to death. On a practical level, as a taxpayer, I resent the expenditure to keep just one individual like Clifford Olson in prison for 25 years. On an emotional level, I cannot understand how abolitionists can ignore the very real responsibility they have earned for the repeated crimes these criminals commit when they escape or are paroled.

—CLAY E. MCGOWAN,
Saginaw, Ont.

At a time when Amnesty International is having a very difficult time persuading governments such as those in Iran and China not to murder their own citizens, it would be more than ironic if Canada were to reintroduce capital punishment. It would be a setback for civilization on a world scale. Thank you, Kevin Doyle, for your editorial statement.

—DAVID BALDWIN THOMAS,
Guelph, Ont.

Your editorial and feature articles on capital punishment were a great insult to the intelligence of the Canadian public. The emphasis on and description of hanging was sheer sensationalism because a return of the death penalty in Canada would bring the introduction of lethal injection. There is another reason for capital punishment other than vengeance. You have forgotten it is proportionate of capital punishment (the majority of Canadians) as immoral and vengeful. We are outraged and scared

We have been subjected to a justice system that does not protect us. If we had an innocent guarantee that dangerous murderers (and many more left) would never walk the streets again, and if society had adequate money to imprison these people for life, we would not agree so hotly. Unfortunately, violent murderers are paroled, do escape and do serve sentences much less than life or even 25 years. Capital punishment, if not a deterrent, would prevent a convicted, vicious murderer from repeating his action.

—LYDIA BARRAN,
Secretary,
Citizens United for
Safety and Justice,
Victoria

I wish to express my appreciation for your excellent editorial. As I write this letter, three more police officers in Quebec and Ontario have died. While I deny the majority of those acts and the tragic loss of life, I am not grossly surprised by them. North American society today has espoused a general philosophy of greed, violence and the "quick fix" as a way of life. Cinema and television images make massive fortunes from the promotion of mindless violence. Top makers irresponsibly promote war toys to children of all ages, parents buy their children these toys. The president of the most powerful nation on earth delights in portraying an image of the lone cowboy, single on his hip, as he sets out to conquer the heathens. Governments pour massive amounts of money into producing weapons of awesome destructive capability, while large numbers of people starve to death.

—A.W. MOORE,
Montreal

Your editorial reiterates the common view of all the media, which apparently feel a sense of duty to incite a blood-thirsty public with a new standard of morality which is a lamentably lacking. They also share, in my view, a determination to ensure that any contrary opinion never see the light of publication. This tactic commends itself in many present arguments in force as there are opposed, possibly more—ignoring the facile accusation of revenge. The predominant one is that capital punishment is just that—punishment, with



Olson: nothing to fear

"So what's for dinner?"

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defence secondary. It is still as valid as ever that the punishment should fit the crime, and revenge does not in general inspire this mind, which serves as the only practical measure of the seriousness of actions which are unusual to the public good. By applying the responsibility we clearly cannot act as abhorrent to the degree that the perpetrator has forfeited his right, granted at birth, to share space on the planet with those who adhere to social and divine law. What we are doing, in effect, is sending such criminals to a higher judge, whose wisdom we cannot hope to equal.

—L.H. HOGAN
Nightingale, Ont.

Your editorial is a sneaky attempt to gain credence for your opinion by the use of exaggeration. Whether the law hangs those deserving law, has them trampled by buses or sent any other manner of killing them is a matter of cultural choice. The need to kill them is a matter of social reality. When the crash comes, most people there will go to the wall and society will do its duty again, your sentimental self-respect and notions of decency notwithstanding.

—VILF STADEN
Stockholm

The problem of disposal

Regarding "The vast-potential resource" (Technology, Oct. 1) I found it very disturbing that no mention was made of what will be done with the spent fuel from these reactors. An article such as this which presents only the positive side of nuclear power plants is misleading its readers. Or, I guess the AEC's, its members come up with an environmentally acceptable solution to the problem of nuclear waste?

—ANNIE DUBRE
Chico, B.C.

North-South relations

I had heard previously that President Reagan had said that Japan was America's number 1 trading partner and I could not believe he had made such a naive statement ("Why the Americans need Canada," Column, Oct. 6). But then again, I should not be surprised. We took a trip to the United States and at the time we were living in Manitoba. Some people approached us and asked us where Manitoba was and asked us where Manitoba was and asked us where Manitoba was. "Do you know where North Dakota is?" After they said no, we gave up. Know where they were from? Michigan!

—A. NORT
Edmonton

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Most correspondence is for letters in the Editor, Reader's magazine, Mountain, Prairie Star, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

FOLLOW-UP

Billy Carter's quiet revival

During his brother Jimmy's presidency, Billy Carter embarrassed the White House with his unpolished manner and ill-chosen associates. The Internal Revenue Service pressed him for \$125,000 in back taxes, the justice department and the Senate investigated his connections with the Libyan government, and he checked into the alcoholic rehabilitation clinic of California's Long Beach Naval Regional Medical Center for seven weeks. Now, the former First Brother, known simply as Billy, no longer garners headlines in

to shake his hand or to ask for his autograph, and they usually stay for a tear of the male hormones. "I cannot say I am a celebrity anymore," says Carter. "But I am still recognized, which makes me feel good."

Just four years ago Carter could not escape the limelight. The colorful younger brother of President Carter did almost everything for a fee, from judging belly-flop diving contests to racing cock curs and presenting a beer named after himself. His outspatience was legendary. He was an indefatigable promoter



Carter brothers still 'visible' although they do not live as much of each other

of "redneck power" and he took a special glow in outraging feminists. Once asked by a woman journalist whether he supported the Shroud of Shroud Amendment, which would guarantee American women equal rights under the law without federal or state interference, Carter replied, "Well, yeah, as a reporter you would make a pretty good one."

Such antics embarrassed the White House but they paid in no surprise to Carter's ultimate troubles. After some Atlantic business, he wanted to set up a Libyan trade council without his help in the project. Carter made two trips—in 1978 and 1979—to Tripoli as a guest of the Marxist strongman Muammar Khadafi. He hosted a Libyan delegation in Atlanta (outspatience against the wall of an airport building as he awaited the arrival of his guests) and he defended his involvement with Arab poli-

tics and businessmen by proclaiming, "There is a hell of a lot more Arabs than there is Jews." After Carter admitted to receiving a loan of \$250,000 from the Libyans, the justice department launched an investigation to determine whether he had broken any laws. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately began to follow him, the state department objected to the idea of the president's brother representing a "terrorist government," and the Senate committee searched for signs of a "conspiracy" at the White House. The affair quickly became known as "Whodunnit."

The Senate investigation into Carter's Libyan connections ended much as it began—with criticism of his poor judgment but with no evidence of wrongdoing. The justice department forced Carter to register as a foreign agent and demanded the \$250,000 to be compensation for services rendered and not a loan as Carter had claimed. That led to his confrontation with the IRS. After the justice department defied the money as income, it was taxable and revenue agents promptly imposed a lien on his house, gas station and other property in Georgia when it became apparent that he could not pay the tax bill. Carter's tax trouble ended in June, 1981, when he paid his property as a public worksman in Florida.

Carter's fortunes have improved recently. He says that he is "very proud" of overcoming his drinking problem and he adds that his marital troubles with Sybil, his wife of 29 years, are resolved. He often takes his two sons and four daughters, ages 7 to 27, with him on business trips and he claims not to smoke his native Plains. For years he has given a speech about public appearances about how the influx coming to him Jimmy Carter's home changed Plains. "What a president can do to sweep up a small town."

Carter has a ready reply for the people who ask whether he hurt his brother's re-election chances. "I think I helped Jimmy more than I hurt him," he says. "I certainly didn't hurt him enough to lose it either." Billy says that he and his brother are still "close" although they see each other only a few times a year. And he is as prepared as always to speak out. A confirmed Republican, he predicts a landslide victory for President Ronald Reagan. And he says that Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale made a "terrible mistake" in choosing Geraldine Ferraro for his running mate. "Mondale would have been better off picking a black Libyan with a Spanish surname," said Carter. "That may be would have received all his votes." Clearly, Carter remains as outspoken as ever. The difference now is that fewer people are listening.

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FOCUS-UP

The Hudson moves west

For more than 20 years the Hudson Institute sat on its 28-acre hilltop 60 km. upriver from New York City, presided over by the controversial thinker Herman Kahn. The former physicist and self-styled futurist who laid out strategies for the atomic age with books entitled *Thinking About the Unthinkable* and *On Thermonuclear War* founded the conservative institute

west-of-Pasadena University campus in Indianapolis.

The Hudson's official explanation for the move offered a heightened rationale: "We should detach ourselves from the power centres of New York and Washington to do our best work," said the institute's president, Thomas D. Bell Jr., when he announced the relocation. But the real reasons had much to do

with the high cost of maintaining a sprawling Washington, D.C., estate and increased competition from such think tanks as the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy, two Washington-based conservative institutions. As well, the grants will allow the institute more freedom to choose its projects. Said Neil Fickel, an international affairs specialist and researcher at the institute who was once Kahn's personal assistant: "It was something like in the movies — an offer we really could not refuse."

Kahn's widow, Irene, a Hudson board member, voted against the move, which would link the institute with two universities, but she did not make her reasons public. But her late husband was known for his

disdain of academic institutions. Kahn, who graduated from the California Institute of Technology with only a master's degree in mathematics, has said that universities are "too far removed to evaluate [problems] effectively." Hudson's deputy director, James Wheeler, an economist, explains that "While we have been all that unusual around here, what Herman liked were open-minded people who were willing to look beyond their narrow specialties and the conventional wisdom."

Kahn's own esoteric outlook has shaped much of the Institute's thinking. Its last book, published in 1980, when the world was in an economic recession, was entitled *The Coming Scow*. His apocalyptic independence is frequently cited as one of the reasons for the insti-



David: 'Angels' showers



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tal's recent decline in popularity, despite its philosophical compatibility with the Reagan administration. Said one staffer: "The Hudson is not reliable in the ideological sense. We have the bad habit of stepping on chairs' toes. If you are an official in Washington who wants results guaranteed to back up a particular policy, you are wiser to go somewhere else."

At the Hudson's fat budget of the early 1970s shrank to slightly more than \$3 million last year, Kahan himself dined some of the financial gap with whirlwind global spending. Kahan, who in the few years before his death brought in as much as \$500,000 annually in a major publicity coup two years ago, he forced former U.S. secretary of state Alexander Haig to be a Washington-based senior research fellow for the institute. In 1982 Kahan mounted a concerted drive to attract more nongovernment projects, which last year accounted for roughly 60 per cent of the institute's research contracts, up from 30 per cent a decade ago.

Kahan's fame and, in some circles, his notoriety as a believer in the necessity of a limited nuclear war have been both an advantage and a drawback for the institute. Said Marie-Josée Desros, 35, an 11-year Hudson veteran who is director of the institute's only affiliate, in Montreal: "Hudson's reputation works both ways." Desros is now working with Haig on a \$500,000 project on the future of Western Europe for corporate clients that include Canadian Pacific Railway Limited and DuPont Canada Inc.

The move to Indianapolis away from the political power centers could aid in improving the Hudson's corporate appeal. But some staffers see more personal benefits. Said Proctor, one of about two dozen professional researchers—roughly two-thirds of the full-time staff—who make the most use of "the deal includes a substantial pool of unrestricted funds for us to study what we want to study, rather than what a client wants." Other staff members cite advantages ranging from access to the unrestrained library and computer banks to less expensive housing and the swimming pool in their new building's basement. Said Wheeler "Of course it is a disruption, but we cannot deny that it is in the best interests of the institution. And people tend to forget that Hudson had a real appreciation for the non-Northeast corridor view of the world."

Still, the most authentic perspective at the Hudson remains that of Herman Kahan himself—unpredictable, intensely strong-willed and unafraid of taking long shots. Whether these qualities are a virtue without him—a Indians, or somewhere—may well be the toughest question his successors have to face.

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DATeline: EGYPT

In the shadow of Sadat



Mubarak and wife, Suzanne. Below: Sadat (below): a wide divergence at Masrout

At first the fanfare seemed to be part of the extravagant display of military pomp that Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, reviewed each Oct. 6 to celebrate his success in the 1973 offensive against Israel. But as Sadat rose from his seat in the stand to salute the passing parade, he was set down by bullets fired by members of the army on which he had based his power. Now, three years after assassin Moslem troops killed Sadat and vice-president Hosni Mubarak stepped into Egypt's leading role, Sadat's successor has yet to take radical steps away from the politics of his predecessor, or give Egypt a distinctive new face. Said Fouad Idris, one of Egypt's best-known writers, "We are living in a strange era. In some ways, Sadat is stronger dead than alive."

and bureaucracy is the back-street cafe of Cairo. Sadat, like his charismatic predecessor, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1954-1970), provided constant raw material for Egypt's amateur political interests. But Mubarak has given the gossip little to talk about. Sadat once: "When he does something, the jokes will start again."

Sadat embraced a jet-set lifestyle, which included springing around Cairo in his personal helicopter, inviting Frank Sinatra to sing at the pyramids and encouraging his wife, Hania, to share with him the international stage. But after Sadat's death, his half-brother, Ismail, and three of Hania's sons were convicted of corruption and sentenced to one-year jail terms. They were charged with accumulating \$148 million during Sadat's rule through fraud, black marketeering and infrastructure subsidies. The four were freed in August, 1980, but authorities have imposed Egypt's family property, worth \$46 million.

The Egyptians, Mubarak resembles the hero of a Vietnamese morality tale. Citizens regard him as incorruptible and unassuming. He lives in the same modest suburban house that he occupied as vice-president. His wife, Suzanne, is good Islamic style, albeit the fashionable. While Sadat was



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proed of his close relationship with the United States. Mubarak offers to public opinion by stressing Egypt's realignment. The difference in style in one reason Mubarak has ascended the personal popularity that Sadat suffered in the last few years of his 11 years in office. Egyptians condemned Sadat's imperial pretensions and, for the most part, they did not lament his death. In contrast, the people regard Mubarak with indifference. Said Mohamed Mubarak, a former from the Egyptian town of Luxor, on the Nile river 320 km south of Cairo "Mubarak is not corrupt, but it is not clear which direction he wants to take."

That charge applies more to Mubarak's failure to initiate a progressive domestic policies than to his foreign policy initiatives. Like Sadat, Mubarak has found foreign policy easier to manage than the many problems at home, such as overpopulation and a stagnant economy. He is now close to withdrawing his nation's army back into the Sinai held without forsaking peace with Israel. Mubarak has never wavered from his support for the 1979 Camp David peace accord for three reasons: U.S. influence in Egypt is strong enough to prevent them from bagging the Egyptian people are weary of war, and the realization that the Egyptian army, with outdated Soviet-made weapons, would not be able to compete successfully with the Israelis as it did in 1973.

Mubarak has pursued a course of friendship with the modern Arab countries, while maintaining a "cold peace" with Israel. In September, 1982, he withdrew the Egyptian ambassador to Israel, Shadi Marada. The ambassador's return to Tel Aviv is dependent upon an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and a settlement to the problem of a disputed sector of the Sinai Peninsula is still held by Israel.

Mubarak's cautious Middle East policy has wrecked, mostly because the western nations that without Egypt there would be no imbalance in the Arab world. Items we visit to Cairo last December by Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian Liberation Organization leader, marked the reconnection of the PLO and Egypt. At the same time, the Organization of the Islamic Conference readmitted Egypt. In September, Jordan broke the first country to break the boycott of diplomatic relations with Egypt which the Arab world imposed after Sadat signed the peace treaty with Israel in 1979.

Egypt hopes that other Arab states will follow Jordan's example and re-establish diplomatic links. Already, cordial unofficial relations exist between Cairo and most of the Arab world. The exceptions are the hard-liners—Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen.

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On the domestic front, Mubarak has instituted few changes. Cairo's series of grimy slums stand unchanged. Egypt's population swells: the country's annual growth rate of 2.2 per cent is among the world's highest. There are a million new Egyptians born every 84 months. With no decline in the growth rate, the population will jump from 47 million to 90 million in the next 20 years.

As rural immigrants continue to stream into the cities, the government attempts to placate the poor with heavy subsidies on bread, oil and other essential goods. That policy began in the 1960s and has emboldened Egyptians from economic reality ever since. But it is now enormously expensive. Direct subsidies cost the Egyptian government \$2.5 billion a year, and implicit subsidies

will become a more open dictatorship."

For now, democracy is slightly more apparent than during Sadat's rule. The press is relatively free. There are four newspapers that consider themselves to be the government's opposition. Mubarak has drawn the leaders of the four major opposition parties into dialogue and has allowed the re-emergence of the Wafd party, a strongly right-wing group that dominated Egyptian politics before the 1952 revolution, when the military forced King Farouk to abdicate.

Opposition parties, which Sadat considered an irritant, have been tolerant of Mubarak, partly because they are united with the regime against the common enemy: Islamic extremism. Superficially, that is one problem that Mubarak has handled well. He has crushed



Islamic preachers arrested for sedition, 174 were freed

—including the sale to Egyptians of domestically produced oil at a fifth of the standard world price—increased that figure by another \$2 billion.

According to a U.S. economic consultant in Cairo, in the past two years the foreign debt has jumped to \$82 billion from \$17 billion. Servicing the civil and military debt now costs 30 per cent of the country's gross national product. So far, Mubarak has avoided the volatility that—like Sadat did—other Cairo residents feared in 1977 following price increases of up to 30 per cent for wheat, rice, cooking oil and soap. Last month there was a chilling reminder of the unrest among the poor when prices for goods such as bread and pasta went up as much as 120 per cent, outside the main Egyptian delta town of Rafi. At Dawar rioted, and three people were killed. Said Yousef Idara. "There will be discontent, and when it comes the most likely outcome will be that the regime

the extremists, all the while playing to moderate Islamic opinion. Egypt's security forces have maintained tight control over the activities of Muslim political groups, outlawed by Sadat. The authorities have arrested the leaders of almost 28 Islamic fundamentalist groups in the past three years, and the government has extended emergency police powers into a fourth year.

Last month, in a further concession, the government ordered the release of their acquittal at the end of a nearly two-year trial, of 174 of the 381 extremists arrested in 1981 for plotting an Islamic republic. The notion of an Islamic revolution such as Iran's, worth dismissed after the assassination of Sadat, has evaporated. Hence Mubarak may be short on ideas—and a pale performer in the wake of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat—but he has succeeded so far in keeping Egypt stable.

—KARE FINECH in Cairo

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The revival of a species



Ceremonial courting: a ritual of bowing, leaping and whooping throaty calls

Fifteen slender, white-plumed whooping cranes were all that stood in the way of the species' extinction in 1941. But now, after an intensive project by the Canadian Wildlife Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service began in Alberta in 1987, the population of the four-foot-tall, spindly-legged crane—known for its ceremonial courting ritual of bowing, leaping and whooping its throaty call—stands at almost 160. Said Dr. James Carpenter, the veterinarian in charge of the whooping crane project at the U.S. government's Patuxent Wildlife Research Center in Maryland: "They are precious jewels—majestic. They epitomize, for most of the world, the battle to save a species from extinction."

This year, Carpenter and the crews of Canadian and U.S. ornithologists who monitor the cranes' progress are particularly pleased with the birds' revival. Said David Kluge, a press officer with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service: "We are endlessly delighted." The eastern reemerging crane in the wild are not considered part of the flock until they have completed their first migration.

That migration is just now getting under way from Alberta, where the cranes were growing during the summer in preparation for a 1,600-mile flight south to winter at the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge on the southwest coast of Texas. The migration is a rigorous test, especially for the younger

birds, with the sheer strain of the flight causing death.

The Canadian Wildlife Service has been carefully nurturing and protecting the cranes in Alberta since early summer. The service began its part of the 1987 "foster parent" program by taking some of the birds' eggs and sending them to incubation cranes in Patuxent. There, they were put into the nests of captive sandhill cranes, a more common species. The sandhills are grey, drab-looking birds about a foot shorter than the whooping cranes. After the success of that experiment, conservationists expanded the program in 1975. Conservation officers placed eggs from Alberta and Patuxent in sandhill crane nests in the wild at Gray's Lake, Idaho. The sandhills proved to be equally effective parents in the wild so they were as effective as the cranes.

The whoopers saw few threats to their adoptive parents in late fall to Bonanza del Apache National Wildlife Refuge in New Mexico. As a result, a new migration route has been established. And the service is considering the possibility of establishing new whooping crane flocks in Georgia, Florida or Michigan.

The ornithologists remain concerned for the safety of the birds heading south on their treacherous migration. They acknowledge that this winter a few will be lost, perhaps as many as 15. That would be a blow, but a similar loss in 1941 would have meant extinction. —WILLIAM LORTWIS in Washington



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Music on a high scale

By Peter Lewis

From the time the curtain rose 66 years ago on the Salzburg Music Festival, the annual rite staged to honor Austria's most distinguished son, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, has had its share of scandals and controversies. The world's most exclusive and famous musical event has featured, along with some of the best-performed music, high-strung performers, warring conductors, perfidious critics and scheming impresarios who paraded their egos before thousands of music lovers from around the globe. But this season it was the festival organization itself that aroused passion and controversy. An Austrian government report issued last spring accused the organizers of squandering taxpayers' money on overly lavish productions and of permitting a trade in black market tickets to flourish. Angry Salzburg residents immediately demanded that the festival's government subsidy of the yearly deficit be withdrawn unless the organizers agreed to more than 100 high-speeding ways. According to one local



Nor Karpman: the fee was undiscussed

citizen, Johann Chachmann, the event had turned into a "salish eye for the music world."

Such charges instantly brought Salzburg's top citizens to the festival's defense. Declared Werner Oppen, head of the Salzburg State Tourism Board, "This festival is unique as you cannot subject it to normal bookkeeping standards." But festival officials—faced with allegations of waste contained in the 251-page report of the Austrian parliamentary audit court—quickly pledged to future to hold costs down. The court, which examines how government subsidies are spent, found that performers at Salzburg were frequently paid double the fee they could get to conduct at events such as the prestigious Wagner Festival at Bayreuth in West Germany. According to the court report, performers qualified real champagne during rehearsals of the festival's *Don Giovanni* last year. As well, the court noted that at every rehearsal and performance of another opera a piece of glass worth \$600 was crushed to fit the script.

Such extravaganzas, the court claimed, caused the festival, which runs from mid-August to mid-September, to take a loss of \$5 million on last year's \$36-million production. The court pointed out that the federal administration objected to the deficit in principle and the state of Salzburg had been the real patron of the champagne-drinking singers. Under a long-standing arrangement, 75 per cent of the festival's losses are made up by subsidies from the state government, the Salzburg municipal government, and a local business association.

Still, even though the festival shows a deficit, Salzburg benefits through the influx of some 100,000 music lovers, most of them big-time spenders, who patronize the private hotels, restaurants and stores when they are not attending one of the festival's 120 performances. Said Oppen, "I know it sounds as if Salzburg is being robbed, but the taxes, fees for Mozart and does not matter." Added Wolfgang Gelnbacher, a member of the festival's executive committee and another strong defender of high spending at Salzburg: "If you want to attract the finest artists and an elite audience to what is generally accepted as the world's best festival, you must spare no expense. As far as I'm concerned, I would call it more a case of mistaking artists in the grand tradition."

Many festival regulars disagree with Gelnbacher. But Marion Kallier, an Austrian-born American who attended the festival every year: "You can't cut the frills without losing guests. Besides, performers fight to appear at Salzburg and they would not be deterred by mere modest fees." For their part, festival staffers deny that Salzburg's payment to performers is excessive. But they in-

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have revealed the fees paid to this year's stars, among them the legendary Austrian baritone/actor Herbert von Karajan, on the grounds that it would be "absurd" to mention money in view of the current recession. But sources close to the festival say that some stars such as Luciano Pavarotti have received as much as \$50,000 for a single performance, about double what he would be paid in Canada.

One issue that even the festival's most ardent defenders admit to being uneasy about is the sale of black market tickets. In its report, the auditors count charged that the 4,000 "service" tickets, usually given to press and festival staff, for last year's performances ended up in the hands of scalpers. But the biggest issue is tickets—prices range from \$3.50 to \$150—involves seats obtained by scalpers at the box office and then resold to latecomers to the festival at five to 16 times their value. The Salzburg press reported that one American, sending a commanding view of this year's opera Cosi fan tutti, paid a scalper \$815. Said a member of the festival's press bureau: "The essential problem is that we could sell three times more tickets than we have."

For most of the 140,000 residents of Salzburg, ticket prices—black market or otherwise—have in recent years put all but the cheap seats beyond their pocketbooks, making it impossible for them to attend a festival whose lanes they are expected to swell. Complicated one day "Lido" whereby 5,000 miles away, I listen to Salzburg on the radio. Salzburg locals also grumble that festival goers have them on the notorious fringes of the extensive, high-powered social whirl around the festival.

Mindful of such complaints, the organizers have stated that they were prepared to make more middle-ranked seats available to Salzburg residents at next year's festival. They also predicted that a new box office computer they had installed after this year's event would minimize professional scalpers by recording the names of buyers and putting a limit on tickets sold to individuals. And a festival official: "The attack about overpricing and black market practices has been rightly ferred as to recognize the whole picture." He noted that the public could certainly "count on our stepping the scalpers and holding fees and production costs next year down to at least the 1994 level."

Less certain was whether performers and their rich donors, accustomed to the high life in Salzburg, would tolerate an economy drive next annum. Such an austerity could very well reflect on the festival a fate similar to that of the composer whose glory Salzburg so richly celebrates. Mozart ran out of backers and died, a pauper, at the age of 35.



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warrior about than you were at her age?

Jung: Yes, I do. Take a very dim view of the possibility of the human race surviving the 21st century.

Maclean's: That is quite a statement!

Jung: Well, we are in a terrible trap today, with both the United States and the Soviet Union aiming for war. So I am not very hopeful. I must admit it is a very left-wing household. Everyone believed that if we thought peacefully about the world, then the Soviets would be peaceful. I saw before that is a joke. It is not whether or not we as liberals

think the Soviets are friendly. It is not our attitude—it is their attitude.

Maclean's: Having reached that conclusion, do you have a solution?

Jung: I honestly do not know the way out. But as a writer who has travelled to the Soviet Union, I can say they definitely do have a police state and I do not think we do.

Maclean's: Does that make you feel more secure?

Jung: Our greatest strength, I think, is not having a police state, and this is where I part company with the Rightwingers, totally. They would compete with

the Soviet Union by demanding more armaments and more censorship. And that will make us more like the Soviets. I think our strength is our free press, our society. If we preserve the essential character of our freedom, then I think Eastern Europeans will try to emulate us.

Maclean's: What about Latin Americans?

Jung: In Latin America we are showing off what is worst about ourselves. And if we do turn our society into a police state, then we have lost our greatest, by definition. We should be emphasizing our freedom, our openness, our diversity. But there are elements in the United States that would like to introduce things like more censorship, a stronger CIA, more controls on individual liberties.

Maclean's: From a more personal view, you have said that you have found motherhood deeply satisfying. But in your own life, getting married has not proved to be a simple matter. For instance, last year, in Megan's Book of Discoveries, you gave an account of the difficult breakup of your own marriage and its effect on your daughter.

Jung: Two years ago when Molly was 4, I was going through a terrible split and I wanted to write a book to explain to Molly what the whole thing was about. I looked everywhere—in libraries, in bookstores—for something about divorce for kids and there was nothing. So I decided I was going to write a book explaining to Molly that it is not her fault, that she did not do it, that it is all grown-up incompetence at work. The story is told as if I am a four-year-old viewing adult themes again and how sad they look to her.

Maclean's: You considered calling it Molly's Book of Discoveries, did you not, until Molly's father threatened a lawsuit?

Jung: Well, he took the position that having a book named after Molly was bad for her. I did not see that as a problem, but my publisher did and it stopped the process. They simply said I had to change the title or they would not publish the book.

Maclean's: Have you thought about the advice you might give your daughter when she grows up?

Jung: Let me tell you—as a kid who was born in 1938, she will probably have more to tell us than I can tell her. She has had such an open life, such access to information. But who knows what the world will be like in 1980? I know Molly will be a well-informed young woman, stronger than I was. She might be suspicious of marriage around her, such as mine. But if I have raised her well, she will have a need for another person in her life and she will be capable of giving more than I am capable of.

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FOLLOW-UP

An Ontarian in Paris

When Adrienne Clarkson arrived in Paris in May, 1992, as Ontario's agent-general to France, the high-profile cohort of CIO's current affairs program the fifth estate became a fact in the crowd, "a novelty in the French," as she put it. But the Hong Kong-born Clarkson says that she found the experience of being just another government person a salutary one. It encouraged her to map out a fast-paced strategy that would make her a recognized public figure again. Then she began to discover that Ontario was also an unfamiliar entity to the French. Said Clarkson in her \$5,000-a-month office in Paris's fashionable 8th Arrondissement: "At the outset, many of the French people I talked to assigned Ontario as a huge wilderness lying somewhere west of Quebec. That has changed since."

In her 2½ years in Paris, Clarkson's efforts to create a new awareness of Ontario have, according to her superiors in the Ontario government, distinguished her in the eyes of French government officials at all levels as one of Canada's top lobbyists in France. Said John Garson, director of international relations in the Ontario ministry of intergovernmental affairs: "Since the opening of our office in Paris, French government officials have, partly through the efforts of Adrienne Clarkson, gleaned a greater awareness of Ontario's potential." He added that there had been a remarkable increase in the number of contacts between the Ontario and French governments.

Impressed with Clarkson's success, officials of the Ontario ministry last spring asked the attractive, 45-year-old strong, whose contract was to expire next May, to stay for an additional two years in her \$11,000-a-year post in Paris. Clarkson greeted the notification of the extended tour of duty with enthusiasm because she felt that her initial work in Paris had only begun to pay off. Said Clarkson: "I figured it would take a good two years to start making an impact on France's business community, let alone to approach our goal of creating new wealth and jobs for Ontario." When asked whether her liaison relationship with Canadian consul John Robison had, at the outset of her Paris sojourn, offended French sensibilities, Clarkson, with a mischievous smile, replied, "You would not ask me that question if I were a man."

Noting that Clarkson had appreciated the former four-person Ontario bureau

into a nine-episode with a staff of 14, Canadian Embassy trade counselor for Jean Frenette acknowledged that Clarkson had brought a "wider dimension to what had earlier been a purely business office." Claude Plante, spokesman for the Quebec agent-general's office in Paris, while defining, "for obvious dip-

lomacy reasons," to assess Clarkson's performance, said that she had definitely made her governor sit. France's trade commissioner for Ontario, Michel Berlet, said that because Ontario was to a great extent overshadowed by Quebec in France, Clarkson's job was not as easy one. But he added that all the reports reaching him from Paris with regard to Clarkson were highly favorable. For her part, Clarkson will only say that, while she is very much a cosmopolitan person, she wants to return to Canada when her new stint in Ontario's Paris office expires. ◇

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Nader's consuming drive



Nader preparing to bring his consumer advocacy crusade to Canada

Nineteen years after writing
"Crash at any Speed," a brutal
expose of the defective General
Motors Corvair which rocked the U.S.
auto industry, consumer activist Ralph
Nader still does not own a car. Says
Nader, whom the book catapulted to fame
"They can be hazardous." But the
lack of an automobile has not stalled
Nader, who has become an American
folk hero for his role as the "Citizen
Rotten" leading advocates for safe con-
sumer products. For more than two de-
cades Nader and his dozens of zealous,
youthful recruits, known as "Nader's
Raiders," have policed corporate and
government abuses and lobbied for
tough consumer and environmental
protection laws. But recently, a swing to
pro-business interests and a U.S. ad-
ministration hostile to environmental
concerns have put Nader on the defensive. Said Nader of President Ronald
Reagan's government officials: "Their
whole attitude is, 'Forget about the peo-
ple, forget about law and order for the
corporations.' Newsdays, we are just
trying to hold the line."

Still, few people have had so great an
impact on America society as Nader,
33, a wry man with a lean-thick look to
his face. He commands fewer headlines
than he did in the 1960s and 1970s, but
his original Public Citizen Inc., the um-
brella for various of Nader's public in-

terest research groups, remains very
active. Nader, who plans to expand his
activity to Canada soon, will devote 36-
to 48-hour days to his Washington, D.C.,
office, with suggestive results. In addi-
tion to writing nine books and a widely
syndicated newspaper column, he has
been largely responsible for the passage
of dozens of landmark laws, from the
1966 Freedom of Information Act to the
1970 Clean Air Act. Clearly because of
Nader, automobile dashboards now are
padded, seat belts are mandatory, and
most parking houses must meet certain
minimal health and safety standards.
Indeed, opinion polls consistently place
Nader close to broadcaster Walter
Cronkite as one of the 50 people that
America trusts most.

But the man whom some Americans
call "rational ranny" does have prob-
lems. This spring Nader angrily fired
three editors of the *Mademoiselle* Inter-
view, his monthly publication, which
focuses critically on the international
role of giant corporations. He claimed
that the editors had printed a highly
controversial story about the giant
Boeing Corp. without his approval. The
Boeing story, which attracted nation-
wide publicity in April, revealed that
federal authorities were investigating
whether the giant California-based
multinational firm paid bribes to win
approval of nuclear power plants in

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South Korea in the late 1970s, when U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz were top Israeli officials.

The Bechtel story was a long-running joint research project of the *Monitor* and *Mother Jones*, a left-leaning magazine published in San Francisco. The story was originally scheduled for the August issue of the *Monitor*, but the editors moved their deadline forward when the writers learned that *The New York Times* was about to print an article on the same subject. *Monitor* editor Tim Shorrock, 33, one of the three *Monitor* staff fired for the decision to publish the story ahead of schedule, agreed with his counterpart at *Mother Jones* that they had to publish the story quickly. In short order, the dismantled *Monitor* charged that the *Monitor* staff had violated his only absolute rule that he was, as he put it, "responsible for the final reading."

The former employees have filed charges against Nader with the National Labor Relations Board, claiming that in ending Nader's fired them for trying to form a union and for attempting to win greater editorial independence. Then, the *Monitor* responded by filing a \$100-million (U.S.) lawsuit against the journalists for allegedly covering information that they gathered while working for the publication to their own



Shorrock, violating an absolute rule

use. That dispute puts Nader in the paradoxical position of appearing as heavy-handed, unscrupulous and sneaking as many of the multinational corporations he criticizes.

Despite his organization's internal problems, Nader plans to bring his consumer crusade to Canada starting with a campaign to liberalize the country's Official Secrets Act, which he claims is oppressive. And while Nader's brand of consumerism may be out of vogue in Washington, it remains very much alive in the Northwest. Following his lead, grassroots consumer movements have started up throughout the United States in the past few years, and many of them are thriving. In Wisconsin 100,000 utility consumers have paid \$5 each to join a watchdog Citizens Utility Board to win better service and lower rates. Similar groups are forming in California and Illinois. In New York 70,000 people have banded together to buy home heating oil in bulk—and at a substantial discount—while in Seattle 20,000 disgruntled owners of old diesel cars with various engine defects have gathered for a statewide "lemons law" to protect buyers of new cars and they are taking the manufacturers to court. In Canada consumer groups are also making their presence felt. In Ontario, Quebec and the Northwest Territories a coalition of groups is fighting a recent bill to speed approval of new cars and they are taking the manufacturers to court. In Canada consumer groups are also making their presence felt. In Ontario, Quebec and the Northwest Territories a coalition of groups is fighting a recent bill to speed approval of new cars and they are taking the manufacturers to court.

Nader's plans are ambitious—they call for nothing less than a complete reordering of the economic life of the United States. To many people his vision seems overly ambitious, if not outrageous. U.S. politicians criticize him for taking an unreasonably black view of the world—one in which all corporations are out to beggar their customers.

For all the criticism, few people doubt the strength of his commitment. Declared Nader: "I will be involved in the consumer movement until I die." Most of the \$150,000 he earns each year from writing and lecturing goes to the various consumer-oriented projects and groups that he started. And his enthusiasm has helped keep public and private contributions to the movement flowing. Even his personal eccentricities bear witness to his dedication. He still wears the four dozen green wool socks he bought at an army PX in 1958. "They are just beginning to wear out." And he has never found the time to get married. That sort of choice, said the ultimate careful buyer, is just too time-consuming. ☐

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The new realism in real estate

By Brian Cohen

Until three years ago, most real estate projects were golden. Developers and speculators in real estate lived in a lovely world of lucrative transactions. As Benjamin Swirsky, the vice-chairman of Brimley Ltd., one of Canada's biggest real estate development companies, told his colleagues at a Property Forum conference in Toronto last month, "Land was not there to build on, it was there to trade. Buildings were not built for work, and houses were not built to live in. They were all there to trade."

This is a world that no longer exists. But the ups and downs of the real estate development business provide an excellent illustration of how Canadians became trapped in a vicious circle of overly high expectations. Real estate developers, having learned their lesson at considerable cost, are now jettisoning thousands of ordinary Canadians in adapting to more realistic expectations of what the economy can do for them, and of what they will have to do for themselves.

For more than 30 years after the Second World War, real estate developers enjoyed the best of all possible worlds. Heavy immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, a high rate of family formation, and a worldwide demand for our natural resources all combined to create a need for both new industrial developments, as all parts of the country. Not only was that construction what the country needed, it was profitable. Indeed, the real estate development industry responded admirably to the country's needs. In the housing area alone, three quarters of the eight million houses now in existence were built since the end of the Second World War. 30 per cent of those were built in the 1970s.

The combination of years of rapid economic expansion and a population growth, high disposable incomes, and even inflation, made real estate a booming business. For developers, nothing was impossible or too big. And virtually no project lost money. Developers would have been prudent to periodically interrupt their frenzied activity to take stock of such economic factors as interest rates and demand for their product. But they did not. When interest rates climbed to 20 per cent, developers may have hesitated, but not for long enough. They borrowed hundreds of millions of dollars, with banks, trust and insurance companies were more than willing to lend. As Manulife vice-president

Thomas Di Giacomo told last month's Toronto conference, the philosophy to which all subscribed was "Whatever we may lose we will make up on the next round."

Canada's economic expansion came to an abrupt end with the onset of the worldwide recession in 1980, caused largely by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' sudden large increase in the price of oil within eight years. With interest rates at an all-time high of 22 per cent, megaprojects and businesses floundered, and homes became difficult to sell, even for families with two incomes. The real estate industry and its financiers found themselves overextended financially and paralyzed by the burden of unfinished developments. Their debt in relation to their equity rose drastically. In 1983 the West Group Ltd. of Calgary, and Dean Development Corp. of Vancouver, reported more than \$300 of debt for ev-

Other sectors of the economy have also learned that lesson. The manufacturing sector struggled to be competitive with the rest of the world, even during good times, and many strategists are rethinking the definition of profitability. Workplaces Canada Inc.'s chief executive officer, Frank Tyseck, says the manufacturing sector has lost in supplying the largely tariff-protected domestic market. Tariff protection itself is a thing of the past: within three years 90 per cent of the goods that we trade with the United States will be tariff-free.

Real estate's Swirsky says that Canadian industry has also learned to "define objectives, reexamine markets thoroughly and limit involvement." In the booming years of the 1960s and 1970s those basic concepts were quite clearly missing from the planning strategies of developers. And with good reason. They were unnecessary. New, says Swirsky, "Buildings should be financed and should have a significant number of tenants before the development starts." The real estate development industry now recognizes that the problems that the Canadian economy has experienced in recent years will not disappear immediately—or possibly ever. Said Di Giacomo, "The old days are gone. For example, long-term loans are gone. It may surprise or shock you, considering we are an insurance country, but the average term of our liabilities is five years."

Peter Carter, vice-president of The Royal Bank of Canada, concurs with Di Giacomo's observation. "I do not believe we will see a return to long-term mortgages," he recently told a group of home builders. "If you start with the assumption that a healthy and vital market for mortgage funds depends on the borrower, the lender and the depositor all getting along, then under the present conditions that sort of arrangement makes good, common sense."

What is clear from the revised thinking of the real estate developers is that an efficiently functioning economy will be very different from what it was in the past. We will have to pay a more accurate attention to trends, both inside and outside our borders. As well, we will have to rethink our business strategies. They may have worked in the past, but the world has changed, and so must our ways of doing business.

Brian Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.



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Ottawa's season of secrecy

By Carol Goss

Just a week after Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his cabinet were sworn into office in September, an appointed consultant complained to government whip Chuck Cook in his Vancouver riding that he was unable to reach one of the new ministers by telephone in Ottawa. Cook, involved in a listening office space to his, explained that the minister probably did not have an office yet—or a telephone. Cook told the story with a strained smile last week as the Conservative government, with the inevitable confusion of its first days of power sadly behind it, began settling down to business that the new government's reluctance to communicate was still evident. In fact, the government remained largely an enigma with only two clearly defined characteristics: a penchant for secrecy and for flamboyant public relations.

In the absence of clear policy announcements, the capital produced rumors instead. Some Tories speculated about a series of mysterious burglaries in Montreal in which documents were stolen from party officials (page 18). And with Parliament prorogued to open on Nov. 5, Ottawa

was swash with talk of impending spending reductions and firings—rumors that gained currency with mooted cuts and Mulroney's unexpected decision to make public the surprise salaries of Ottawa's senior Crown corporation heads (page 30). Adding to the uncertainty, cabinet ministers encouraged the idea that the government would probably have to back away from some of its election promises. Because of the "economic mess" left by the Liberals, declared Finance Minister Michael Wilson, "we're not going to move as quickly as we said we would with promises."

The week began as a note of mild controversy, again fuelled by secrecy. After Mulroney's staff—in a puzzling display of ineffectiveness—refused to say exactly where he was staying on vacation in or around Palm Beach, Fla., rumors flew in Ottawa that the Prime Minister was a two-week guest of Montreal business tycoon Paul Desmarais,

which Mulroney took pains to deny on his return. For their part, opposition MPs protested that Mulroney's decision to almost double the budget for ministerial staff to an unprecedented \$15 million flew in the face of his government's professed commitment to spending restraint.

The Prime Minister deflected atten-



De Cotret (left), Wilson and Mulroney at March Lake; Wilson (below), a master of secrecy

tion from complaints about spendthrift Tory ministers with a tactlessly arcane diversion, while also giving his government an appearance of openness. His office released the salaries of 32 Liberal-appointed heads of Crown corporations, disclosing that Air Canada chairman Claude Taylor is paid more than \$185,000 a year, Joel Bell, head of the Canadian Development Investment Corp. is paid at least \$250,000, and Petra-Canada's Wilbert Hagger earns more than \$400,000 a year. (He was known instead, Mulroney's office got the facts wrong. It stated that Mulroney's private communications Mitchell Sharp is paid more than \$97,000 a year, that had to mean a correction to show that he actually

makes less than \$50,000.)

Mulroney's revelations effectively defused debate over ministerial payoffs by making the \$80,000 salaries of ministerial aides appear relatively modest. Emerging from an all-day meeting of his inner cabinet at the government's rustic March Lake conference centre, the Prime Minister explained to reporters

that "I believe in attracting top people and paying top dollars, but I don't believe in hiding information."

But the Prime Minister, in his Crown interview announcement and similar scenarios, demonstrated an instinct for political timing and media management. Each day he provided a service

news event in itself: a succession. He invited Pierre Trudeau, who was in Ottawa on personal business, to drop in for a chat over coffee and vowed to consult the former prime minister from time to time about peace and arms control. Then he authorized External Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien to name former Liberal MP and Speaker Lloyd Francis Canada's next ambassador to Portugal, a sensitive post in



the wake of the controversial appointment—subsequently cancelled by the Conservatives—of former Liberal cabinet minister Bryce Mackoway.

While Mulroney dominated the headlines, his ministers provided a steady drumbeat of warnings about possible spending cuts and program postpone-

ments. McKnight hinted that spending on federal housing programs might be redirected. Communications Minister Marcel Masse indicated that the \$1.2-billion federal arts budget might be cut, even if he was not.

For his part, Wilson was one of three members of Mulroney's generally sec-

retary showed how swiftly Ottawa's seasons of information and influence have changed.

The weeklong was staged by a recently established Toronto firm called Strategic Planning Forum. The company is a joint creation of Coldwell, Pterakis International, an executive recruiting firm, and Advance Planning and Communications Ltd., a Toronto consulting firm that is chaired by Norman Atkins, who invented the Tory election campaign last summer. An evasive Liberal consultant admitted that the affair was a "public relations coup."

Though none of the participants gave any secrets away, a disclosure also revealed just how many business leaders are to penetrate the wall of silence around the Mulroney government. Said Lloyd Atkinson, senior vice-president and chief economist of the Bank of Montreal: "We all hope to glean whatever information we can about the direction of this government and its priorities. Obviously, that information has not been made available by any other means." Edward Samuel Hughes, president of the Canadian Chapter of Commerce: "It's a one-way street. Ministers are keenly anxious to absorb information. But when it comes to [others] getting their views, the picture becomes absolutely cloudy."

There was no secret concerning two problems facing Conservative and opposition MPs alike—the difficult seating arrangements in the House of Commons and a shortage of office space. Successors of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Tories in the House, close to one-third of the 261-member Tory caucus will be obliged to sit on the opposition benches, which few of them are anxious to do.

Office space is an even more serious problem because of Mulroney's decision to create the largest cabinet in Canadian history. All 43 ministers invited on suitably large offices, leaving the 302 back-benches from all three parties to scramble for the little remaining space. To provide additional room, Cook was forced to relocate the Parliament Hill language school to a downtown office building. But by last week, said Cook, he had managed "to get everyone shoe-horned into an office. The place is bursting over."

As Ottawa prepared for the parliamentary session, it was left to Pierre Trudeau—whose governments were not noted for caution—to deliver a telling criticism of the evident Tory fondness for secrecy. Emerging from his visit with Mulroney, Trudeau made some general questions about what they had discussed by observing dryly that "These matters of state are so confidential that I don't think I should let you know what's happening." ☐



Trudeau and Mulroney: a penchant for secrecy and shrewd public relations

ments. Supply and Services Minister Herwin Andre said the government might be forced to delay some parts of the Special Recovery Capital Projects—the \$2.6-billion program of airport renovations, harbor improvements, tourist developments and other job-creating tasks that the Liberals announced in 1985. Housing Minister Wilfrid

Paré said that he would have to speak at a 9:00 a.m. school business conference attended by about 200 business executives, students and politicians, such as Robert de Cotret, in Ottawa last week. Joe Clark, Energy Minister Patricia Conway and Charles McMillan, Mulroney's chief policy adviser, also addressed the group. The capacity turnout

A matter of marijuana

By Christopher Wood

As Premier Richard Hatfield of New Brunswick, first offences for simple possession of marijuana are usually treated much more leniently. The political consequences could be more severe. Interior Liberal Leader Ray Fenech told the Conservative leader to step down temporarily and let an acting premier take his place until the matter is cleared up. But in a letter to the Liberal leader, Hatfield declared, "It is my intention to continue as premier given the mandate of the people of New Brunswick." Political observers predicted that Hatfield for the time being could

offer, could be fined as much as \$1,000 or jailed for six months on conviction. But in New Brunswick, first offences for simple possession of marijuana are usually treated much more leniently. The political consequences could be more severe. Interior Liberal Leader Ray Fenech told the Conservative leader to step down temporarily and let an acting premier take his place until the matter is cleared up. But in a letter to the Liberal leader, Hatfield declared, "It is my intention to continue as premier given the mandate of the people of New Brunswick." Political observers predicted that Hatfield for the time being could



Hatfield with the Queen: 'Obviously I do not know how it got there'

public event consumed weeks of rumors and an announcement by Hatfield earlier in the week that the Mounties had found marijuana in his suitcase on Sept. 25 in a routine security check during Queen Elizabeth II's visit to New Brunswick. The 35-day delay in laying charges against Hatfield raised questions about police handling of the case—and the affair cast in doubt the political survival of New Brunswick's eccentric beehive premier.

Hatfield, 58, who completed his 14th year as premier on Nov. 15, the longest tenure of any provincial premier since in-

terrupted the story, but the affair could influence two provincial elections on Nov. 26. And if Hatfield were convicted, he would probably be in serious trouble in period New Brunswick, including his own riding of Carlton Centre with its strong Reform community. Voters there, noted a former Hatfield adviser, "would take anything like this very seriously."

The first public indications of the premier's marijuana discovery came on Oct. 26 when the *Fredericton Daily Gleaner* published a sketchy front-page story under the headline, "Sen or St. B

Two days later, during a visit to Montreal, Hatfield called a news conference in the Hotel Bonaventure, where the Queen had stayed and dined with him including the premier. In a terse announcement, he said that the police had told him Sept. 28 that marijuana had been found in a side pocket of his suitcase. But he insisted that it was not him and that "obviously, I do not know how it got there."

Public interest in the affair was heightened by allegations of an attempted cover-up, which RCMP officials in Fredericton flatly denied. Senior Mounties at Fredericton Airport were reported to have tried to cover up the incident after an RCMP officer, who was conducting a routine security check before the Queen flew to Montreal, found the marijuana. It was said to be a small amount, reported to be less than one ounce. After charges were finally laid against Hatfield, Solicitor General Ernest Mackay declared in Ottawa that he was satisfied that the police investigation had been handled "with a very meticulous regard for all the circumstances."

The premier is credited with landmark measures such as implementation of the province's Official Languages Act and reformed rules for political fund-raising. But his government is no stranger to whiffs of scandal. Twelve years ago, one of Hatfield's ministers was a focus of opposition attacks over the swindling of liquor licenses. Earlier this year, Conservative officials were the subject of a leaked letter containing purported evidence of a plan to fuel ballot boxes in Saint John during federal, provincial and municipal elections between 1979 and 1980. And royal visits have caused him problems before. Last summer, a storm blew up after an exuberant Hatfield told Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, that "we have read and heard the line... today it was wonderful to meet and know the truth."

While Hatfield's political popularity has seemed secure—at least until recently—his personal status among New Brunswickers was less certain. A lifelong baseball fan, habit of stopping away to Montreal, New York or Boston for weekends was his the nickname "Dinos Dick" from opposition politicians. The modest longshore he occupies in his private estate contains numerous paintings, as well as his collection of dolls.

Recently, the premier's political grip has seemed less sure than in the past. He has missed meetings of his cabinet, and cabinet ministers have complained of difficulty reaching him. But if Hatfield is to remain in office, he may have to deal on all his political friends, skills and instincts to survive an embarrassing scandal.

A tangled tale of murder and money

By Dale Eimler

Staring up straight in the crowded St. John's courtroom, the accused clutched the end of a pen between his teeth and stared through narrowed eyes at the jury, bearded man on the witness stand. Millionaire rancher and politician Colin Thatcher had reason to frown closely as witness Greg Anderson gave a tangled tale of conspiracy and shorted contracts for murder. The witness had just said that on the day before the killing of Thatcher's son-in-law, John Wilson, Thatcher told him that "he had been out visiting his wife." At other times during the second week of his trial on charges of murdering Wilson, the 40-year-old Thatcher looked composed and even confident. As his lawyer begins

voice on the tape declared that "there's no problem. And there won't be unless they [the police] trap our something and I got no intention of giving them anything to trip on."

One of the first witnesses called by defense lawyer Gerald Allright was Regina lawyer Tony Merchant, who handled Thatcher's 1980 divorce and a subsequent bitter dispute over custody of the couple's three children. Merchant told the court that he telephoned Thatcher at his home in June about a report that Wilson had been killed. According to Merchant, Thatcher's response was, "We've got to be kidding." But the vital telephone company tapes that could have fixed the time of the call could not be produced because they are routinely erased after three months.

brought him to the courthouse, showed in his book, Anderson, who admitted that he has a criminal record for assault and other offences—told how Thatcher approached him on the fall of 1980 and offered to pay him \$50,000 over three years if he would kill Wilson. Anderson said that he turned down the proposal. But he helped in 1981 to elude \$10,000 to a man who agreed to kill Thatcher's divorced wife, but by then was married to a Regina steel company executive. Anderson also testified that in the same year he provided Thatcher with a .380-calibre rifle and a rented car shortly before Wilson was shot and wounded on his Regina home. He also testified that he provided Thatcher with a car and a 357-calibre Magnum revolver on the day before the murder. The



Thatcher's son Greg and daughter, Stephanie, with grandmother, Peggy Thatcher. Thatcher is custody "no problem"

conflicting Thatcher's defense, so does the witness testimony. Thatcher's part-time housekeeper, Sandra Silverman, 25—who testified that Thatcher was eating a hamburger at home in Moose Jaw, 17 km away, or had been seen in the neighborhood.

Anderson, a former Thatcher neighbor who took a deal to cooperate with the prosecution, told the court that Thatcher tried at various times to get him to kill Wilson and then paid other men who were supposed to do the job. Anderson also testified that Thatcher was one of the men in a tape recording he made for the Regina police, in which two men seemed to be discussing the murder of Wilson. She was found badly injured and shot behind her Regina home in January, 1982. At one point the

Allright then produced three more witnesses, including Thatcher's part-time housekeeper, Sandra Silverman, 25—who testified that Thatcher was eating a hamburger at home in Moose Jaw, 17 km away, or had been seen in the neighborhood. Anderson, a former Thatcher neighbor who took a deal to cooperate with the prosecution, told the court that Thatcher tried at various times to get him to kill Wilson and then paid other men who were supposed to do the job. Anderson also testified that Thatcher was one of the men in a tape recording he made for the Regina police, in which two men seemed to be discussing the murder of Wilson. She was found badly injured and shot behind her Regina home in January, 1982. At one point the

witness said that he later picked up the car, which was parked on a street in Moose Jaw, and burned clothes that he had found in it.

Prosecutor Serge Kuyars also introduced a 27-minute tape-recorded conversation that Anderson said he had with Thatcher after the killing to help with the police. When Anderson asked on the tape what had been done with the gun, the other voice replied: "Don't even talk like that... Now there are no more ends at all." Under cross-examination, Anderson stated that "I don't know Colin Thatcher killed his wife [with] that's what I believe." A statement would bring Anderson part of a \$50,000 reward put up by Regina police for information which would help them to convict. As Ann Wilson's killer.

A deepening Tory mystery

In the competitive game of politics, rival factions look constantly for compromising information about their opponents, though they rarely engage in theft to get it. But as two police forces pressed an investigation last week into a pair of recent break-ins at the Montreal offices of prominent Tories, Marleau learned of a third robbery last spring in which a photocopy of a U.S. currency cheque for \$50,000 from an offshore Montreal businessman Walter Wolf was stolen from the office of Voyageur Marine Construction Co. Ltd. in the Montreal suburb of Pointe Claire. The firm is an offshore oil and gas equipment leasing company in which Michel Copeau, a longtime Maloney confidant, is a director. Both Copeau and the Marleaus believed there was probably a link between the three robberies—which were rapidly becoming a subject of speculation in federal political circles.



Copeau: a friend of connections

three party to help Joe Clark as leader in 1982. The cheque—Wolf's payment for an interest in the company—had been cashed, and the photocopy was kept as a souvenir.

A copy of the cheque was mailed to CTV's 49 current affairs program. When 93 reporters followed up by interviewing Copeau and Wolf about the Austrian-born firm's links to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Voyageur Marine's books were opened up to show 93 that the \$50,000 was paid into the company and not diverted to some other recipient. (In Toronto 93 staffers confirmed that Wolf spent the company's books for them.)

The theft at Voyageur Marine was not reported to the police at the time, Copeau said. But it came to light last week as the RCMP's recent Montreal Urban Community police detectives who were re-investigating the Sept. 16 break-in at the Montreal office of Maloney's communications adviser, Roger Nantel. After breaking a lock on the door of Nantel's office, the thieves stole documents dating back to Maloney's first leadership bid in 1976. In another incident discovered five days later, intruders forced their way into the Montreal office of the Progressive Conservative Canada Club, though Tory officials were still not certain that any documents were taken.

The police appeared to have no solid leads on who was behind the mysterious break-ins—or what exactly the robbers were looking for. But the third of party business connections—in just the three robberies suggested that the burglar might have been looking for the source of party and leadership campaign funding—or for material that would establish a relationship between Mulroney and Wolf. Mulroney is as regarded as the incumbent Clark and far out by Wolf played a decisive role. And Papeau's papers were also rifled.

In the meantime, federal Tories were winged, but apparently not alarmed, by the rash of thefts. According to Marcel Duceau, a Quebec Conservative MP and veteran Clark loyalist, the two most recent break-ins could have yielded the thieves little. "There was nothing to gain in these two offices," said Duceau. "The only thing there were members top lists." Mulroney's press secretary, William Fox, noted that "obviously, there are some people [in this party] who believe their three incidents are linked and that it's some kind of conspiracy. But it's no more than an opinion."

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

NATIONAL NOTES

Heroism in the snow



Archaebald going straight

For several years Paul Archaebald, a 37-year-old driver with a string of minor convictions, had been trying to live within the law. On Oct. 18, Archaebald was driving to Grande Prairie, Alta., in police custody where the place crashed, killing Alberta New Democratic Party leader Grant Snider and five others. That night, Archaebald learned as a moral code and on a first-aid course. Archaebald struggled to keep his head above water—initially getting a job as a snow-covered bush country. "I knew that [keeping them alive] was the only thing that would keep us alive," he recalled. Three days later, in Grande Prairie, a judge dismissed the charges against Archaebald—which arose out of a sudden-breaking incident on recognition of his heroism. "This could really make a difference," he said.

Suing for blood money

In January, 1982, Clifford Olson pleaded guilty to murdering 11 young people in British Columbia's lower mainland region and was sent to prison for a minimum sentence of 20 years. The sense of relief in the province gave way to outrage when the state admitted that the force paid the killer \$100,000—which was placed in a trust fund for Olson's wife and son—for revealing the locations of the victims' corpses. The families of seven of the victims responded by launching a civil action before the province's supreme court in which they demanded that Olson, his wife and Olson's lawyer, Robert Shantz and James McInnes, hand over the estimated \$40,000 left in the fund. The court heard testimony last week that Jean Olson received \$800 a month from the trust fund. But the money has been paid to other uses as well. McInnes admitted that money from the fund paid for a trip to Palm Springs, Fla., for Olson and Mrs. Olson in 1981. In addition, the money was used to pay off Olson's debts, and Shantz collected \$20,000 in legal fees, which he later returned. McInnes received \$2,000 himself and invested another \$10,000 for Olson's wife in a condominium project, of which he was president. The trial, which is scheduled to conclude this week, may clear up some questions about the way the fund has been used. The victims' families may go away angry-headed, however, because the trust fund is believed to be in the Yukon, beyond the jurisdiction of Canadian courts.

A sign of gratitude

New Scotia's premier, John Buchanan, favors a policy style that has helped his Conservative government win elections in the past six years—events that he celebrated by standing at a Halifax (recreation) day after holding up a "Thank You" sign. Buchanan can be forgiven for getting his sign ready again for the New Year. If provincial election, he has the experts predict that he is likely to get a similar majority (on dissolution the Conservatives held 25 of the legislature's 62 seats, the Liberals 12, the New Democrats and Cape Breton Labor Party one each). The main Buchanan's broody resistance that "people here don't like to hear down and gloom"

may prove less than persuasive in a province in which 33 per cent of the labor force is unemployed and the budget deficit has nearly quadrupled in six years, to \$2.3 billion. And even though petroleum exploration under the shallow near off, St. John's Island has been going on for more than a decade, the development boom long heralded by Buchanan has not materialized. Most of reserves of natural gas have been found but they may not be tapped until the early 1990s, if ever. "I don't know how many times [he Buchanan] can tell us that the offshore is coming and have the population believe him," said campaign manager John Crosswell, whose party leader, Alena McInnes, is trying to win support for Buchanan's Liberals and form the next official opposition.

A provoking criticism

Both the main shows based with indignation, and Prime Minister's office politicians were up in arms over what Liberal M.P. Johnny Man Young called a case of "total insensitivity to P.E.I. and its people." The cause of all the fuss last week was a comment by Veterans Affairs Minister George Meas, who told an interviewer on CTV's Question Period a fortnight ago that the federal government's 1986 decision to move most of the 1,200 men under Ottawa-based Veterans Affairs Department must be new heads to Charlottetown was "about the most ridiculous thing I have ever seen." Though Meas noted that he has no plan for returning the department to Ottawa, he argued that it could not perform as efficiently in P.E.I. as it did in the federal capital. Meas's words, and his implied criticism of his own department, did not escape the staffers. "We say something like that," said Major Frank Meas of Charlottetown. "It is true, and everybody seems to be happy." Veterans Affairs officials rejected the Meas criticism, that there had been a 100-per-cent staff turnover as a result of the move, claiming the figure was more like 80 per cent. "We were just getting really settled in," said a staffer, sarcastically refusing to use his name. "Now we've had the spotlight [focus] on us again. It seems somewhat uncomfortable by the way." Arriving in Charlottetown for a routine visit, he calmly insisted that he had only been giving his "honest opinion."

Closing a landmark



Hotel lobby: hotel splendor

When Montreal's stately Mount Royal Hotel opened its doors in 1908, its 1,600 rooms—some of its proprietors to hold it the largest hotel in the British Empire. Over the years the Mount Royal served as one of the centres of the city's social life, and its guests included British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and crooner Bing Crosby and French Minister, as well as gamblers who visited during the 1940s and 1950s. Last year's January (The Greek) Skyline once boasted that he drew \$125,000 during a three-day stay at the hotel. Today, the Mount Royal is up for sale, and is being sold, and on Nov. 29 it will close down for a \$60-million transaction into a retail-office complex. Mourned a local poet: "I could cry—especially when I remember how many thousands of backs I dropped playing cards there."

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Countdown to decision day

By Marel McDonald

The rally started according to script. A White House advance team had installed the props that accompany every presidential appearance: battalions of huge black limousines, the aerial-quality lighting and a backdrop of curious blue ink set off the president's skin tones. Then Ronald Reagan walked onto the University of Portland's sports arena stage to a thunderous ovation from 4,200 flag-waving reporters. But just as he launched into his standard stump speech, a celebration of optimism, patriotism and the country's current prosperity, the scene shifted. A tiny cluck of protesters, boosting placards reading "The flag is the button is white," suddenly unleashed piercing whistle blasts and shouted the president down. "Liar, liar, pants on fire," they chanted. "We don't want your war in Central America." For the first time, hecklers had perched the vigorous screaming procedures set up to isolate Reagan from dissent. In fact, that brief, transitory crack in the presidential veneer last week seemed up as election regarded by many as unique in the annals of American politics.

Reagan II has been a battle not of strategy or ideology but of stage-managed images: an unprecedented exercise in performance politics that commentators have dismissed as anti-political "photo opportunity." Armed at an electorate conditioned to the visual gimmick, the campaign has lacked not only substance but any sense of a center. At a time when the country faces fundamental changes about the future of the courts, education, human liberties and race relations, there has been only desultory discussion of the principles Democratic nominee Walter Mondale's efforts to engage the president in a debate over the increasingly failed. Cloaking the agenda, Reagan's advisers left the challenger to shadow-box with a myth an apparently invulnerable chief executive who counted above the facts, dispensing a reassuring sense of America's own well-being and importance.

The election on Nov 6 was not to be a referendum on Reagan's achievements, as some analysts predicted. Indeed, his record is mired with contradictions. Although interest rates and inflation are down sharply from their 1980 levels,

the president who four years ago pledged to balance the federal budget has chalked up immediate deficits of \$600 billion—almost the total under all preceding presidents through five decades since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. While millions of Americans boast

afford underest ideology—and perhaps despite. Opinion polls showed that although the majority of Americans agreed with Mondale on the issues, they liked Ronald Reagan better. So powerful is his attraction that, still last week, Mondale avoided personal at-



Mondale on the stump against a media star the odds are disconcerting

more disposable income, the official poverty rate under the candidate of prosperity last year reached its highest level since 1965: 33.3 million people. Reagan's foreign policy score card is equally mixed: failure in the Middle East and in the quest for arms control agreements, success in Elie Grenada and in persuading the NATO allies to deploy tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

But much of that was irrelevant to many Americans about to cast ballots. The vote became a referendum on the strength of the economy and Reagan's own likelihood of quelling. His personal

traits, fearing a backlash. The challenge even defused the opportunity—during the final presidential debate on Oct. 21—in comment on whether Reagan is too old at 73 to cope with another four-year term, arguably Reagan's only point of vulnerability.

Reagan: Last week, after polls showed Mondale leading Reagan in only six of the 50 states plus the District of Columbia, the Democrat promised on a gloves-off offensive. He branded Reagan "the most unimproved president in modern history" and released copies of a letter that Reagan wrote to then-Vice-President Richard Nixon in 1969 blaming

John F. Kennedy's policies to those of Karl Marx. But like the debate itself, it mattered less who said what than how the two men said it. Many analysts agreed that Mondale scored most of the debating points on facts in Kansas City. But in the next day's opinion-making savadilla Reagan won the battle of one-liners. With a joke repeated repeatedly across the nation—the only segment of the debate most Americans saw—he deflated the age issue. Said Reagan: "I will not exploit the youth and inexperience of my opponent." Mondale, the former vice-president and longtime senator, is 56.

better off than you were four years ago." Even the polls became an instrument in that strategy. As the campaign entered its final week, Mondale began to do battle not just with Reagan but with the politicians who produced a Reagan landslide.

Prospects: Increasingly, the question became not whether Reagan would win but by how much. Foreseeing a victory of historic proportions, some analysts suggest that the nation is undergoing a fundamental political realignment. Sweeping demographic and geographic gains, some contend, could allow the Republicans to eclipse the Dem-

ocratic Institute, workers no longer use the Democrats as the party that will protect their economic interests. Indeed, an October Gallup poll showed that 80 per cent of Americans believe Republicans do a better job of maintaining prosperity, against 53 per cent for the Democrats.

But the most striking development is the massive shift of the youth vote toward the oldest president ever to hold office. Surveys show that Reagan's greatest margin of support comes from the 18 to 34 age group: 63 per cent favored the president, with only 35 per cent for Mondale. That swing, one of the

campaign's major anomalies, recently prompted vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro to confront a group of Seattle University students with a blunt question: "Tell me, why are we losing you?" One rationale, said Democratic pollster Danny Lynch, is the strong economy, which attracts students just entering the job market. The young also have shorter political memories. They remember not John F. Kennedy's Camelot but Jimmy Carter and the national mood of self-commemoration associated with the Iranian hostage crisis. Said Lynch: "Reagan makes them feel better about the country."

Backlash: But the most startling realignment may be taking place in the South. There, a better voter-registration rate has repolarized the region on racial lines. Seeking to offset Reagan's narrow margin of victory in 1980, black voters in 1984, Rev. Jesse Jackson crusaded actively for new



Reagan on Harry Truman's campaign train in Ohio: trouble do not stick it a Talco-coated president

black voters. That campaign produced a frightened white backlash. The Republicans poured \$6 million into a white voter registration drive—double the Democratic budget—orchestrated by far-rightist extremist groups as Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority for political.

Clearly, long-term shifts are occurring. Migration south and from the northeastern "rust belt" has eroded Democratic strongholds. Even more damaging, union membership—a core of the traditional Democratic coalition—is plummeting. The recession eliminated thousands of jobs in the steel and auto industries. The recovery has created millions of new jobs in the non-unionized service sector. But organized labor has also failed to deny the rank and file into supporting Mondale. According to a study by the American Bar-

black voters. That campaign produced a frightened white backlash. The Republicans poured \$6 million into a white voter registration drive—double the Democratic budget—orchestrated by far-rightist extremist groups as Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority for political. black voters, the campaign was flourishing. Needing white votes to win in the South, Mondale and running mate George Bush reportedly issued many Southern black leaders.

Still, in the South and elsewhere, many blacks put aside biased self-interest to fight against an administration

they regard as an enemy of civil rights. "Another four years like this," said Georgia state Senator John Bred, "and we'll lose all the gains we've made." Agreed Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young: "It's our survival!" In fact, a study released last month by the non-partisan Center on Budget and Public Priorities showed that blacks of every class were worse off now than in 1980 and that the economic gap between blacks and whites had widened. But surveys suggested that there simply are not enough new black voters to compensate for white defections from the Democratic ticket. And some politicians, among them Loran Harris, last year declared the South lost to Mondale. Said black congressman Parren J. Mitchell of Maryland: "What you have in this country is a whole new mind-set. There is a anti-black mood."

Abortion: Apart from southern white defections to the Republicans for reasons of race, some Democrats have abandoned Mondale because he wavered, during his years in the Senate (1964-77), against most of the President's major campaign proposals. Similarly, some Republicans, including Albuquerque, N.M., city councilor Rudy West, turned against Reagan. "It's because of his stands on abortion, prayer in school and the Supreme Court," said West. "I just can't accept that the right wing has taken over my party."

But pollsters remain undecided about the impact of these issues on the final ballot. The subject of abortion, for one, provoked bitter debate, angry demonstrations and a rare instance of church-



Reagan at rest on the ranch: a robust physique but questions about his age

state exchanges involving Archbishop John J. O'Connor of New York and such Democratic leaders as Fenwick, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy and New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. It also produced a curious phenomenon of right-to-lifeers backing Reagan, a candidate who, as governor of California, signed the first abortion bill in the United States in 1967. But on such emotional issues, many voters seemed to have made up their minds long ago. And issue politics does not always play well on election day. Mary Rose Oskow, a Democratic member of Congress from Ohio, recently confronted an anti-abortion leader outside a Farmington demonstration and the previous "OK, I'm

still going to vote for her. I just wanted to make the Democrats aware of our feelings about abortion."

But on the campaign stage the issues have not held national attention. The early fervor over Mondale's charge that Reagan had a "secret plan" to raise taxes was all but forgotten last week. Questions of the president's age and fitness, which stirred editorial writers across the continent after the first televised debate on Oct. 3, made no discernible impression on the polls. Although New York Times columnist James Burnham insisted that a remained one of the campaign's most valid issues.

Peace: In 1980 Reagan won his mandate by taking fire storms over existing taxes, curbing big government and increasing defense budgets. This year even party insiders are unsure what firm his second terms will take whether a hardline will allow him to follow the right wing's platform or, as national security adviser in the Carter administration, Douglas Brzezinski predicted, free him to move to the political center.

The president's lyrical politics of mood elevation may reflect more than his own ignominious optimism or adroit political tactics. For some, Ronald Wilson Reagan clearly symbolizes a resurgent America—proud, powerful and decisive. But for others, he is evidence of a disturbing trend. "The nation has apparently given up on such a thing as a sense of government," commented *Harper's* editor Lewis Lapham. "It no longer expects the politicians to engage a coherent system of ideas or to bring to office anything beyond an amateur's knowledge of political expediency or foreign affairs." On that basis, the verdict of the ballot boxes and voting machines will speak eloquently about the state of the nation itself. ◇

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The Electoral Numbers Game

Total electoral votes: 538

Needed to win: 270

Supporting Reagan: 183

Supporting Mondale: 94

Leaning to Reagan: 122

Background states: 203

Total: 288



The importance of being Ferraro

Some of the stories have been predictable: how she is the first vice-presidential candidate in history to head her party in an aide before speaking; how she refused to wear a wrist corsage but donned every T-shirt handed to her in the campaign trail; how Mississippi's 79-year-old agriculture secretary, Jim Buck Ross, called her "little lady" and asked if she could hike blueberry profits. "Etn," said Geraldine Ferraro with only a pause. "Can you?"

Background: But of Ferraro's historic candidacy has brought inevitable jokes and anomalies, it has also been more than just a new dawn for women in public office or a new gem in the election ring. In a campaign featuring vigorous attacks on her finances, her Roman Catholic faith and even her family, Ferraro, 46, has proved herself a deft, instinctive politician—one of the beleaguered and divided Democratic party's few assets.

Until four months ago she was a three-term congressional member from the New York borough of Queens who had not debated since high school and had only addressed one political rally in her life. But her gritty mix of showmanship and substance has consistently drawn standing-room-only crowds. Aides have slowed down her fast-lane anxiety and softened her nasal, New York twang. The results have been impressive. 80 of former Sen. Strom Thurmond, who has followed the Ferraro campaign for her own U.S. magazine. "The new woman in politics is better equipped with a crowd since John F. Kennedy. But whether that translates into votes remains to be seen."

Indeed, that question troubled party strategists almost as much as the candidate's candidacies. Walter Mondale chose her as his running mate last July. Once the novelty wore off, Democratic arguments feared the symbolism intended to lure the 54 per cent of the electorate now made up of women could provide a costly nationwide backlash in the South. In fact, the massive Republican lead in southern polls suggests that the issue was well-founded. South Mississippi State University junior Donna Hall "My boy-



Ferraro, her finances, faith and family were under attack from opponents

friend's like a lot of guys around. He says he just can't bring himself to vote for a woman."

Privilege: Still, former Democratic party chairman Robert Stenwig argues that Ferraro will play much better than people think. "She's got confidence and interest in a not very intimidating way. There's some negative in there, but it isn't going to outweigh the fact that a lot of women—and men too—like her spark."

The Democrats are counting on an argument that prompted one pro-woman's Kansas Republican, Sam Ingram-Rose, to swap all engineers after Ferraro swept through Iowa. Added Democratic Senate pickin' Mary Rose Oaker of Utah "I think when women get into the privacy of a polling booth, they're going

to cast a vote they wouldn't admit is in favor of their husband."

Ferraro herself had warned that her candidacy was "a double-edged sword." And she had warned for the opposition of anti-abortion groups who protest her appearances with dangling paper-mache fetuses and placards reading "The unborn against Ferraro." But even she was wildly shaken by the violence of their attacks in Milwaukee a woman screamed "babykiller" at her, in New York she recoiled in shock from a poster showing three tombstones inscribed "Gerry's kids." There has also been pointed criticism from the Catholic church, which has insisted that the church's teachings on the abortion issue are not, as Ferraro once claimed, a matter for personal interpretation. Privately, Ferraro wonders whether the Catholics would have directly challenged a male Catholic candidate such as Senator Edward Kennedy. Said Ferraro, with a rare trace of bitterness "I kind of doubt it."

She had also anticipated the sort of

sexist abuse that erupted late in the campaign. First, George Bush's wife, Barbara, described her as, "I can't say it, but it rhymes with rich." Then the vice-president's press secretary, Peter Tiedel, called her "lecher." And when Bush chuckled with laughter on the morning of the vice-presidential debate that "we used to kick a little ass last night," most Washington observers agreed with Ferraro that it was "an accident." The Bush campaign promptly capitalized on the favorable reaction by praising "Rock Am Group" balloons. Writing says White House economist William Shinkman dismissed the fundamental feminist principle of equal pay for equal work as a "truly crazy proposal." Said Oaker: "They know they can't win on the facts. But they're trying to make the whole issue look insane."

Underworld: But the question that caught both Ferraro and the Democrats seriously off guard was entirely genderless. Her finances. And although her candid, 180-claim August press conference dispelled doubts that had clouded the opening weeks of her campaign, it failed to answer fundamental questions. Among them: how could she claim that she had no interest in her husband's New York real estate company when she had repeatedly served as their executive officer? The issue, which sparked a damaging inquiry into John Zaccare's business, including unproven allegations of underworld connections, put Ferraro on the defensive and left her husband so visibly unsettled and unsure that when a New York Post report revealed that her parents had been arrested on gambling charges 40 years ago, Ferraro snapped that publisher Rupert Murdoch was cowardly "to wipe the dirt" under her mother Anthony's shoes.

Long neglected: First adopted 36 years ago, the direct initiative allows private citizens to bypass elected representatives and put pet issues directly to the voters for a decision. Since that provision for such referenda are supposed to set in accordance with the popular will but have been known to stall, U.S. Justice departments have questioned the potency of the provision. In 1975, its political potential had been long neglected. Said Joe

Thomson, executive director of the Colorado Initiative Center for Justice: "It's a Reagan, a Reagan opportunity." "Proposition 13 brought political activists that there was an easier way to achieve their ends than the traditional route through the state legislatures."

Two years ago grassroots for and against the 38 measure that appeared on ballots in 18 states spent more than \$65 million to publicize their views. This year citizens' groups attempted to place 285 questions on state ballots. In most cases activists failed to generate enough supportive signatures to qualify, in others the state's rules for the initiative or constitutional provisions that nullified the trend that followed Jarvis's conservative tax revolt. "This year is a real hedge-podge." But, she added, "It is

—MARC McDONALD in Washington

Taking the initiative

The title—Proposition 13—was in no way a surprise. But when Colorado voters overwhelmingly endorsed that tax cut as state ballots late in 1975, they slashed taxes by 57 per cent and in one stroke knocked \$7 billion from state revenues. The California campaign, spearheaded by its reformer Howard Jarvis, heralded a new mood of fiscal conservatism in the North American and inspired a wave of initiatives. Indeed, in the past six years Americans of every political persuasion have used provision in state constitutions to hold referenda on everything from welfare state disposal to deposits on pop bottles. Next week Americans in 18 states and the District of Columbia will be voting not only for president and vice-president, senators and congressmen, state and municipal officials but for 40 statewide direct initiatives, including whether or not to allow government funding for abortion.

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clear that people are focusing less on national questions, such as the federal deficit, and more on local ones. And there is an increasing emphasis on questions of public morality."

Measures that seek to ban public funding for abortion appear on ballots in two states (Colorado and Washington). Similar questions failed to qualify in three others (Idaho, Michigan and Oregon). Voters in South Dakota will vote on a similar workplace issue, while state lottery or gambling proposals will appear in Arkansas, Colorado, California and Oregon. And Michigan's "women's choice" initiative, if approved, would require legislators to submit any proposed changes in taxation to a state-wide referendum.

Quite hot: the year's great for citizen involvement belongs to Oregon, where there were no fewer than 37 separate proposed initiatives. Only eight survived certification, including measures to limit property taxes, establish a state lottery, protect environmental rights and exempt the death penalty from the U.S. Constitution's guarantees of freedom from cruel and unusual punishment. Among the measures that failed the legislation of municipalities for school use, a moratorium on automobile excise taxes, a ban on sales taxes, a limit on childbearing and a law to "contain and repeal" certain bills.

Although citizens have gained popularity in recent years, the process has not universally captured many analysts claim the renewed interest demonstrates that politicians are not responding to public concerns. Others contend the process is open to abuse from professional politicians. "A shrewd politician will use the private citizen's role in representative democracy was delivered more than 200 years ago in The Federalist by a U.S. founding father James Madison wrote: "Government needs to be structured in such a fashion that the interests of the people are protected, through the election process, for the actions." But if enough people signed the petition, even that fundamental principle could be challenged. —ANN PINSKY



JOE THOMSON



ZACCARE: Assailed man



Bush, a bumbling aspirant to fit into Reagan's White House regime

COVER

Waiting in the wings

His friends lament that he is too gentlemanly for the rough and tumble of politics. But he introduced a most ungentlemanly strain of loyalty into this year's U.S. vice-presidential race. His right-wing ethics change that at heart he is too liberal to qualify as an heir to the fractious Reagan. Yet his four-year metamorphosis from Ronald Reagan's derisive opponent into the president's eager squire, complete with campy women, including a Washington Post cartoon that showed him on his knees at the president's castle as "Grueling George."

In fact, the contradictions that dogged George Herbert Walker Bush throughout this fall's election campaign have also characterized his term as the 43rd vice president of the United States—and much of his 30-year career in Republican politics. Now, with rekindled controversy over whether Reagan, at 71, is fit to undertake a second four-year term, the Bush paradox is under sharper scrutiny. The open question is where Bush, at 60, really stands and how he would perform as president.

Debate about Bush came into focus

as he confronted Democrat Geraldine Ferraro in the vice-presidential race. That contest, inevitably if inaccurately, was highlighted as a struggle between an establishment man and a plucky immigrant's daughter. In fact, Bush's career has been an odd mix of success and failure. He was a former Republican senator for Connecticut, polished Yale graduate and U.S. Navy pilot decorated for service in the Pacific. Bush adopted Texas after the Second World War. He made his own fortune in the offshore oil business and, while living his home as comfortable Kennedysport, Mr. Bush a political lion in Houston.

Wetlands. Bush's political career has been marked by a variety and readiness that demands regard as adaptability and that earned distinction as experience. He served four years as a U.S. congressman from Texas in the late 1950s, winning high marks from conservative watchdog groups but, like backing such liberal causes as environmental protection and equal rights for women. In the 1970s he was in quick succession U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, U.S.

ambassador to Portugal, then joined Bush as vice-president but passing with, embracing the same policies he had indicated for his mother.

The Ferraro challenge brought out the contradictions in Bush's public persona. His sometimes over-the-top desire of Reagan during his Oct. 11 debate with Ferraro left commentators wondering why the steady Bush, as one put it, "often belated over into push." The morning-after macho boast to a New Jersey tough crowd—"We tried to look a little less last night"—further underscored his image as a proper Yankee. In fact, Bush's eagerness to prove himself the president's loyal underdog raised questions about what he really stands for. Warmest informant Joseph Kraft, "Unless the real George stands up, the general impression will be of a foolish fellow who is to be president."

Genius. Any hint of softness in a sobering notice is a nation where nine of 40 presidents have been succeeded in sickness by their vice-presidents (Republican neurologists note seriously that, from William Henry Harrison's election in 1840 to John F. Kennedy's in 1960, every president elected in a year ending in zero has died in office, and Reagan was elected in 1980).

Bush briefly faced a succession problem when Reagan severely damaged his arm on March 30, 1981. Then, and since, the vice-president avoided any hint of seeking to usurp power, but clung closely to it. He has a weekly private lunch with Reagan and access to privileged information, and he has had a series of assignments as the president's personal envoy. Close former aides of Bush—led by James Baker III, White House chief of staff—built by White House press. Bush former Reagan aide Larry Noyes: "I've got to take him seriously because the president took him seriously."

Bush has aided his campaign efforts at keeping the support of the men who in 1980 could swing him their vote, assuring him a shot at the presidency. But in courting the Republican right wing, Bush has been endangered.

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—NANCY McDONALD in Washington.

A harvest of laments before voting

In the golden cornfields along Iowa State Highway 92 west of Des Moines, cornbrows slithered through the stalks in a race against rain that have infected \$140 million in damage on the state's current soybean harvest in the past month alone. But on the 550-acre farmstead near Greenfield that Pete Brent once called his own, an sign of life disturbed the pastoral calm. Paint peeled from the empty frame house and the yard grass waved high and unkempt right up to the pasture. Last week Brent shouldered when he drove by. A year ago last September the Farmers Home Administration, the federal lending agency that had helped bankroll the

culture department, another \$1,000 farmers will have to move off the land by the end of next year.

Lured into overborrowing in the 1970s, American farmers now find themselves trapped in a hapless spiral of falling farm prices, plummeting land values and a crippling debt burden that has left them owing a massive \$215 billion. They are the casualties of the worst farm crisis to grip America since the Great Depression. Across the Midwest they listen in disbelief to Ronald Reagan's election claims about a national economic recovery that has passed them by. A lifelong Republican, Brent read with a sense of betrayal,

Greenfield shut down, and new tile windows are gloomily and scarred by panicked rats. Around the corner on the public square, a half-dozen businesses have quietly closed. Larry Bergmann, president of Greenfield's United Central Bank, predicts that another 10 per cent will go bankrupt in the next year. "The worst has yet to come," he said. "It's going to be a gut-wrenching process." Indeed, according to Rural America, a Des Moines-based farmers' advocacy group, for every 10 farms that fail, one Main Street business will also collapse.

Alarmists. As the town's frustration level builds, Bergmann warns about



Silky (left), Brent: trapped on a breadroll of falling fortunes and sliding values, but people still say and vote in their own interests

desert he had lived for all his life. "I'm not off his land," he said. "You feel when you go to the grocery and see the tomatoes of somebody you loved?" he asked. "The same way I feel looking at that damn old broken-down house I just broke my heart."

Shattered. At 55, with two grown children and four grandchildren, Brent has retreated to a suburban Des Moines basement apartment, trying to piece together the fragments of a shattered life supported by his wife's insurance job and his own marning paper route. These business failures are often lost in the swirl of conflicting economic statistics generated in presidential elections. Since the Reagan administration took office almost four years ago, some 5,000 Iowa farmers have been forced out of business. According to the state agri-

"They can talk about this recovery, but around here most of the folks are hanging by the skin of their teeth." Most week Brent will eat a reluctant baited for Walter Mondale.

Still, some in Iowa and other suffering farm-belt states, the president's vision to lead in the polls in Greenfield another disappointed Republican, Ed Silky, publisher and editor of the weekly *Adair County Free Press*, shook his head. "I just can't understand it," said Silky. "People don't vote in their own best interests." Silky took over the 30-year-old family paper in 1965. His younger brother, Hugh, who went on to become Time magazine's Washington columnist, still makes substantial political prognostics back home. "Hugh wants Greenfield to stay as it always was," Ed Silky said. But two years ago the Harts

his personal safety. "Six months ago a loan officer in northern Iowa had his house shot-gunned," he said. "You don't know the mental stress you have when you tell a man who's been farming 40 years that he's not going to make it and he breaks down and cries in front of you." Indeed, the crisis is already taking an alarming toll in farmers' suicides, alcoholism and drug-bottle living. "I get fear to five times calls a week," said Joan Rensfield, a psychologist at Iowa State University. "I have a 13-year-old worried sick because his dad was out in the empty machine shed alone with a gun. Farm families are splitting apart as they see their dreams die. How does a wheat farmer who has grown bread all his life feel when he has to use food stamps to buy it?"

—NANCY McDONALD in Greenfield, Iowa.

An easy ride with Reagan in Texas

For most Texans the heavy rains were a welcome relief after a prolonged drought. But for Republican Draper and Big Tex, last week's downpour could not have come at a worse time. For almost 30 years Big Tex—a 50-foot cowboy statue—has fashed his wooden grin at large crowds at the state fairsgrounds in Dallas. But the rain caused attendance to fall to its lowest level since 1921. And instead of being generous to her long association with the state, Big Tex for a \$1.50 handwashing analysis, Draper, 47, spent her time keeping dry and pondering—among other things—next week's presidential election. The results of the life-long Democrat's deliberations did not bode well for her party's man, Walter Mondale. Said a Mondale-wrapped Draper: "I feel I have to vote this time for the man I feel is the strongest for the country: Ronald Reagan."

Black expects Draper and her fellow Texans are political bellwethers in next week's presidential and Senate contest. Although the state would only 20 of the 538 electoral votes—270 are needed to win—no Democrat has won the White House without capturing Texas in this century. And with the entrance of Republican Senator John Tower, Texas is also the focus of the Democratic bid to regain control of the U.S. Senate. If Draper and the opinion polls are right, Reagan is assured of re-election in the third most populous state (after California and New York). Shipley said Austin, Tex., is a swing state, the only one that usually works for Democrats, last week put Reagan at least 12 points ahead of Mondale in Texas. If that trend—and tradition—holds, Democrats hope for negating the White House are slim.

Democratic registration drives have added hundreds of thousands of new Hispanic voters, most of these avidly Democratic. Shipley's surveys show your state Mondale 75 per cent of the Mexican-American vote. But that promise has been offset by sharp electoral polarization along racial lines, with some surveys crediting Reagan as much as 65 per cent of the majority non-Hispanic vote. Said president George Shipley: "Mondale's national campaign has been insensitive to local races and not developed themes that appeal to the younger voters."

The well-oiled Republican machine has also outperformed the Democrats. To get supporters to the polls on election Tuesday, Reagan's Texas organizers allo-

cated \$3 million for a telephone blitz, headed by Tower. In contrast, the Democrats established a \$1.6-million budget, then cut it back by \$400,000. And Mondale only began to recruit 350,000 volunteers less than two weeks

contender to represent Texas in the U.S. Senate, has avoided even mentioning Mondale during campaign stops. Traveling narrowly in polls behind Republican Phil Gramm, Doggett courted voters who support the president.



Doggett's shyness in the media, but tough commercials help in Texas

before election day. Said Shipley: "Given the state's importance, it makes you wonder why the Mondale campaign has waited this way." With Democratic presidential prospects fading, Lloyd Doggett, the party's

Gramm: claiming presidential success



Gramm, a conservative congressman who was once a Democrat, helped promote Reagan's controversial 1981 economic program. That effort, he now boasts, guarantees easy access to the Oval Office. Said Gramm: "Lloyd Doggett could knock on Ronald Reagan's door till his knuckles get bloody and nobody would ever open it." **Warning:** But despite strong policy differences, the major issue has been negative campaigning by both sides. First, Gramm, 43, denounced the Democrats for accepting a \$604 donation raised by a homosexual political group at an all-male strip show. Doggett, 36, returned the money, then aired hard-hitting TV commercials quoting Gramm's opposition to welfare for the poor.

In the Senate race, pollsters Shipley believe that the outcome may be determined by as few as 15,000 of Texas's 7.8 million registered voters. But if Texans were wavering in their choice for John Tower's successor in the Senate, Texas seemed poised to give Ronald Reagan a mandate of truly Texas proportions.

—IAN AUSTIN in Corpus Christi

The Carolina equation

North Carolina, it seems, is in grave danger. The way that Republican advertisements tell it, "Out-of-state radical leaders want Jesse Helms...of the Senate," and then repeat: interlopers—many of them black—have become key members of challenger Jim Hunt's "political re-

member, Republican-controlled Senate. But more than that, the Helms-Hunt duel is one of clashing ideologies, race and religion, the old South and the new South. With each side claiming to represent the real North Carolina, voters have been left in the throes of a kind of statewide identity crisis.



Hunt goes head-to-head: the toughest fight with the most money for a Senate seat

ence." That is only half of it. According to a Democratic TV ad, "a tight network of radical right-wing groups" is trying not only to defeat Hunt but to push its religious views "into our public schools and into our private lives." The commercials are enough to make citizens (frustrated for their future or, more likely, just disgusted with the media) shudder. The bad news, says a correct job, is that Hunt and Helms are running for the Senate. The good news is that only one of them can win.

Warning: Such is politics, North Carolina style. Is the Tar Heel State a mine allegedly derived from harmful violence in the area's old sex industry. Republican Senator Jesse Helms and Democratic Gov. Jim Hunt are locked in a down-and-dirty brawl, the most virulent, acrimonious, closely watched Senate fight of the season—and the most acrimonious in U.S. history, with estimated campaign treasuries exceeding \$20 million. It is also dead even, with the two combatants swapping leads in the polls as often as they trade charges. At stake is as important seat among the 50 up for grabs in the 1984

On the face of it, the choice could hardly be clearer: Hunt, 47, is a political moderate, sensible and businesslike, a two-term governor who emphasized education and economic development. But during the campaign and its face

He has scored decidedly conservative, pointedly distancing himself from Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale and his proposed tax increase. Democratic state chairman David Price insists that "the ability to accommodate is one of Helms' strengths." But the Republicans say the governor is simply opportunistic—and deceptive. According to Helms, his opponent is "Mondale's general," a label implying that Hunt is a big spender and lavish on defense.

For his part, Helms,

63, is a two-term senator and standard-bearer of the new right—anti-big government, anti-Communism, anti-abortion and pro-school prayer. Tall and brawny, he can be folky on the campaign trail but a firebrand in Congress, earning descriptions ranging from "Mondale's" to "viciousness." The Democrats have tried to paint him as more sympathetic to Central America, death squads than opposed to the problems of North Carolina. Helms' income was about \$111 million, compared to \$18 million for Hunt—reinforces the perception of an outsider's crusade. To help counter the extremist label, Helms has tied himself closely to Ronald Reagan. But those tactics could undercut his fighting-chance image. "He's trying to ride Reagan's coattails," said Steve Decker, a 38-year-old textile worker, standing in a pool hall in the mountains town of Robesonville. "He knows he can't make it on his own. At least Hunt is running on his own."

Helms ran a fine last year, Hunt seemed to be running away with the election, maintaining leads of nearly 20 points in the polls. Then Helms—a longtime foe of civil rights legislation—led the fight against a bill to create a national holiday for Martin Luther King Jr., claiming that the slain black leader had Communist affiliations. In the end the bill passed, but Helms's polls quickly jumped eight points. "It was Helms's way of sending a message. We're going to stick up for you white folks," said Marvin Black, political science professor at the University of North Carolina. "It's not the old-style race-baiting."

Helms now make up 40 per cent of the state's registered voters, and they are expected to support Hunt overwhelmingly. The Republican campaign, with a church-based registration drive of their own, locally labeled, "Jesus's

God Squad" and led by the Christian right. Many observers say that the new Republican strategy will cancel out the new black voters. But in the end, the key to the tedious road battle may be not with Hunt or Helms but with Reginald Reagan, who has been running as much as 20 points ahead of Mondale in North Carolina polls—which could break a dead heat in Helms's favor. For North Carolina, the winner of this state-wide conservative or moderate, Old South or New—could hang in the balance.—BOB LUTZ in North Carolina.

Helms: Jesse's Chief Squat



The Bulgarian connection

By Sari Gilbert

As an investigator, Josine Magistrali (Mrs Martella) has proven to be deliberate, meticulous and tireless. From his stark, two-room office in Rome's legal district, the 49-year-old Martella worked for three years investigating an alleged Bulgarian-led conspiracy to assassinate Pope John Paul II in May, 1982. Last week the magistrate issued formal indictments against three Bulgarian state officials and five Turkish underworld figures. Handing down a 1,240-page report, Martella declared, "It must be held as certain that there was an international plot to kill the Pope."

That verdict carries profound implications for East-West relations. Using Martella's 80,000 pages of documentation, state prosecutor Antonio Albano concluded last May that Mehmet Ali Agca's attempt on the Pope's life was conceived in the Kremlin in the guise of independent trade unions in Poland—and the threat they posed to Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. Intelligence experts agree that the Bulgarians themselves had no discernible motive for killing the Pope. They say that the Bulgarian government would not have planned the crime without the consent of the KGB, the Soviet secret service then headed by the late Soviet premier, Yuri Andropov. The indicted Bulgarians are Balkan Airlines employee Drago Antonov, under house arrest in Rome, and former embassy official Todor Ayzarov and Zheljo Vardar who have returned home. All are allegedly linked to the Bulgarian secret service. Behind them, Albano charged, a "political figure of great power" was working to protect the higher interests of the Soviet Union.

However, the Italian case depends heavily on Agca, a notoriously erratic witness. Now 38, and earnestly serving a life sentence in Italy for shooting the Pope, Agca has repeatedly changed his testimony as just who was involved in the murder attempt. First, the Turkish native claimed to have acted alone. Later, he alleged that he had been hired by "others" in the Turkish underworld. Agca only began to detail the Bulgarian connection after authorities convinced him that his accusations would not be able to free him from protective custody. But his story confirmed the suspicions of, among others, Judge



Josine in Rome: meticulously documented charges of a plot to kill the Pope

Severino Santapichi, who presided at Agca's trial and later wrote that the would-be assassin played "a minimal part in a deep conspiracy orchestrated by secret forces."

But even then Agca's confessions were riddled with contradictions, gaps and deliberate lies. Blaming trial investigators that he had attended a key planning meeting in Ankara's Soviet apartment, Agca later admitted that his description of Antonov's fat had been culled from Turkish and Italian press accounts. For months Agca insisted that a man whose photo was crashed screaming from St. Peter's Square moments after the shooting was Agayev. In fact, it was Agca's close Turkish friend, Orat Celik, who was shot and killed last week. Martella said Celik, a member of Turkey's Grey Wolves terrorist cult—and still at large—had actually freed one of three shots aimed at the Pope, hitting the pontiff's left torso. Later, according to Martella's report, Antonov waited in a car to help

Agca and Celik escape.

The Italian acknowledged Agca's inconsistencies but, as Albano contended, "He has never wavered on the main points, that the three Bulgarians planned the Pope's assassination with him." Despite Martella's findings, Martella insisted that Agca's story is underpinned by detail he has supplied on the Bulgarian habits, facial characteristics and so on.

Because of a procedural backlog in the courts, it will be months before Antonov's trial faces Martella's findings. Even then, there is no independent evidence that links Agca's crime to the people he has named. But Martella's investigation has relied on what Italian justice calls *la prova logica*—the evidence of deductive logic. As such, it was designed not to determine guilt or innocence but to establish that enough evidence existed to justify a trial. The Italian has clearly decided that, on that point at least, Martella's case is persuasive. ♦

Agca, contradictions



Ortega campaigning: reflecting the Sandinista's mounting political frustrations

CENTRAL AMERICA

Casting the first ballot

In the gathering dusk of Managua's market square, Sandinista presidential candidate Daniel Ortega was firing. Addressing a stamping rally of 4,000 teachers last week, the Nicaraguan state leader waved his fist in the air and denounced a decision by the opposition Independent Liberal Party to withdraw from the Sunday's national elections. The vote—the first since the Sandinistas overthrew right-wing president Anastasio Somoza in 1979—is a key element in the regime's plan to legitimize its rule, and a democratic gesture long demanded by a hostile Washington. But like four other parties boycotting the ballot, the Liberals claimed the New Elections—for president, vice-president and 90-member assembly—will be neither free nor fair. For his part, Ortega accused the abstentionism of being "an excuse with the Central Intelligence Agency, who want to discredit these elections to justify the U.S. policy of murder against the Nicaraguans people."

Ortega's rhetoric reflected the party's political frustrations. The election must legally would only the left-wing revolution has instead sharpened swirling divisions. The Nicaraguan economy is near collapse, with gas, food and even toilet paper subject to rationing. Some 18,000 CIA-supported rebel troops are engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Sandinista army. And last week the nation's

highest-ranking Roman Catholic bishop publicly professed to detect no difference between the Sandinistas and the regime's Somoza oligarchy they deposed. "After five years of euphoric illusions," Bishop Pablo Antonio Vegas charged, "once again there are class wars which ignore the fundamental rights of every person."

The outcome of the election itself is not in doubt. Diplomats in Managua predict the Sandinistas will win by an

Manerosee: alarming appearance in warfare



overwhelming margins. But because of the boycotts, both by opposition parties and by individual voters, the victory will likely be judged hollow by outsiders. Indeed, Frances Piel, Canada's ambassador to Costa Rica and responsible for Nicaragua, termed the vote "more of a referendum than anything else." The remaining parties, those of them Marxist, "are too small and too disorganized to offer a real alternative," Piel added.

The party's bid to gain electoral legitimacy suffered its most serious setback last month when it failed to persuade Antonio Cruz, leader of the centre-right opposition Coordinadora Democrática, to take part. During talks mediated by Somoza's lieutenant, Cruz requested a three-month postponement of the vote. In return, the Sandinistas asked the former junta member to end the sequester war. Unable to meet that demand, Cruz suspended negotiations. Without his participation, most Western governments, including Canada, have declined Nicaraguan invitations to send official observers.

"The election makes no sense," Independent Liberal leader Virgilio Godoy told Mexico's last week. "Only die logic makes sense because only the logic will end the war." But the Sandinistas refuse to talk to the rebel Cruz, claiming that the guerrillas are nothing more than henchmen of the CIA. "We're already talking to the leaders of the counterrevolution," said Ortega, "and talking to the guerrillas."

As the Sandinistas await their electoral troubles, their left-wing rebel allies in nearby El Salvador claimed a major victory. Their clandestine Radio Venceremos announced that machete-wielding guerrillas had seized the strategic, 11,000-ft.-high Dos Rios Mountains. El Salvador's top military commander in the embattled eastern region, and three other senior officers, Army officials blamed counterinsurgent failure for the rout, which occurred outside Juazeiro, a market town 180 km northwest of San Salvador. Still, Montenegro's death threatened to leave a gap in the senior command. Said a departing American official: "The one thing this army lacks is depth of talent." Montenegro's aggressive tactics earned him a U.S. military advisory. His loss left Salvadoran President Jose Napoleón Duarte with a weakened military establishment already suspicious of his recently launched peace initiative with the leftists. Since meeting with rebel leaders in 1984, Duarte has expressed alarm at an upsurge in warfare. Montenegro told reporters only days before his death, "There are times when you have to make war to gain peace."

—CHRISTOPHER NIGAL, in Managua with Paul Ellison in San Salvador.

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Awakening a sleeping alliance

Among diplomats it is known cynically as the "sleeping beauty." Virtually since its formation 36 years ago, the Western European Union (WEU) has been slumbering in the shadow of slightly younger and more muscular alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the European Community. But last week, for the first time, the foreign and defence ministers of its seven member nations—Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, West Germany and Italy—gathered in Rome to breathe new life into the obsolete institution. In the splendor of Rome's Palazzo Barberini, the ministers agreed to expand the WEU's role in military co-operation and to monitor East-West arms control negotiations.

Formed in 1948, a year before NATO, the WEU's original purpose was to make sure that Germany could not acquire the military muscle to start a third world war. Six years later, in a gesture that eased more Cold War suspicions than it magnified, the five founding western allies recruited their former enemies, West Germany and Italy. But with Western Europe's increasing dependence on the United States for its defence, it was the wider North Atlantic alliance that flourished.

The European push to revive the WEU stems from concern among western nations about their often-tenuous defence relationship with the United States. Many Washington lawmakers contend that Europe does not pull its weight in its own defence. Said West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "America needs a Europe that is able to act on its own self-interest." Such perceptions, the Europeans fear, could increase pressure for a US military withdrawal from the Continent. Said a senior British defence analyst: "A higher European defence profile, through something like the WEU, could convince the Europeans that the European peace business is real."

But while WEU members are unanimous that Europe must strengthen its defences, they differ on methods. The defence ministers will grapple next month with a proposed new NATO doctrine to use so-called smart missiles against unarmoured forces to counter a Soviet attack. France, Italy and West Germany favour a reactivated union giving the Continent more political, as well as military cohesion. It could also bolster the European Community, which only last August nearly disintegrated during a budgetary battle. For example, that other powerhouses, notably Britain and the Netherlands, would pre-



Genscher: some difficult negotiations

fer to work within organisations linked to NATO. They see danger in a proliferation of "talking shops" and fear that too strong an emphasis on the European "pillar" of the alliance might antagonise Washington.

At the same time, the Europeans are increasingly concerned at holding the short end of the lucrative transatlantic weapons trade—currently 9 to 1 in favour of the United States. Italian Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini, for one, argued last week that the WEU must work for a bigger slice of the arms trade dollar, particularly in development of high-technology weapons like advanced missile guidance systems. For his part, Dutch Defence State Secretary Jan van Hoofdingen admits that the chaotic, nonstandardised state of the European arms industry is partly to blame, as fewer than 26 firms are currently making surface-to-air weapons. But whether or not the WEU's aim of cooperation and negotiation will triumph over the internal conflict of interests remains unclear. "Every year has its key decision subject," said Robert Nerick, assistant director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. "This year it's European security cooperation."

—DAVID NORTH in Brussels, with Sam Gilbert in Rome and Jan Moher in London.

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The abduction of a firebrand

Andersson compared his charisma and poppi performances to a rock star's. Thousands of devout Poles flocked to his theatrical sermons at Warsaw's St. Stanislaw Church. And activists in Poland's banned independent trade union, Solidarity, praised his vigorous attacks on Poland's Communist leadership. So when rebel priest Jerzy Popiełuszko, 37, was kidnapped on Oct. 19 while travelling near the northern town of Toruń, his followers immediately suspected a government plot. Last week the magazine named well-dressed. Although spokesmen denied that Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's regime had ordered Popiełuszko's abduction, police arrested three interior ministry officers after strands of Popiełuszko's hair were found in the trunk of a car. Indeed, one of the suspects said he had killed the cleric, had a government spokesman said police had not been able to find a body. Confronted Solidarity chief Lech Wałęsa: "Responsibility for the present situation falls squarely on the authorities."

For Jaruzelski, the Popiełuszko affair could not have come at a less opportune time. The regime has only recently be-

gun to enjoy improved relations with Poland's influential Roman Catholic Church and with the West. Indeed, the incident marred Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu's state visit last week, the first by a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) leader since Warsaw outlawed Solidarity in 1981. At the same time, Jaruzelski has carefully nurtured delicate negotiations on a church-sponsored agricultural fund that would aid impoverished farmers and give the clergy administrative power in the countryside. However, hard-liners within the Polish Communist party, known locally as "concrete heads," oppose such designs for national reconciliation, as does Soviet Politburo member Mikhail Gorbachev. In fact, they have made no secret of their desire to replace Jaruzelski with a more pliable party official. Declared Jaruzelski's spokesman Jerzy Urban: "This event strikes

against the government. It is a political provocation."

As officials conducted a nationwide search for Popiełuszko, and the faithful maintained 24-hour prayer vigils, Solidarity leaders claimed that Popiełuszko had been kidnapped by the Anti-Solidarity Organization, a shadowy group of government leaders and policemen previously linked to beatings of union supporters.

Authorities declined comment on the allegations, but Popiełuszko was an obvious target for hard-line Communist factions. His patriotic sermons often reviled what he called the "Yahwehism of Polish history," embarrassing not only the government but the church hierarchy as well. Few Poles believed the priest would survive his ordeal. "If he doesn't turn up, it

will be the memory," Josef Cardinal Glemp, the Polish primate, agreed, deploring. "We fear that a killing may have occurred of the kind exemplified in countries afflicted by the plague of terrorism."

—SUE MARTYMAN IN TORUŃ



Popiełuszko, seized

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Jailing a messenger



Aboachar: aptitude

For the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan, Western journalists seeking to cover the nation's five-year guerrilla war with Moscow rebels are a plain nuisance. So when Soviet forces captured French TV reporter Jacques Aboachar, 53, after entering the country illegally last September, Kabul decided to set a chilling example. Last week an Afghan court sentenced Aboachar to 16 years in prison. The verdict brought swift protests, both from France's Communist Party, which opposed the Kremlin's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan, and the French government, which threatened to boycott commerce reaching 40 years of Franco-Soviet relations. Late last week, apparently at Moscow's urgent behest, the Afghans relented, releasing Aboachar for "humanitarian" reasons but warning that further violations would be fully punished.

Authority indicted

By a decisive count of 4 to 1, the judgment added up to trouble for Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos. In its long-awaited final report the majority of the independent commission investigating the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in August, 1983, named several forces (but not Palina Ver—a close associate of Marcos—as "undetectable" for the crime. Commission chairman Corason Aguirre issued her own report exonerating the general, but Ver, 64, promptly asked Marcos for an indefinite leave of absence and an early trial as the majority's charges of conspiring with two lower-ranking officers and 21 soldiers in murder. Aquino. Both reports denounced them. The majority's claim that Communist had hired hit-man Rolando Galano to commit the crime. At week's end, a panel of three lawyers appointed by the Philippine ombudsman began weighing the commission's evidence. But few observers doubted that the case against Ver and other senior officers would eventually go to court. The trials could confront Marcos, already beset by a dismal economy and a mounting Communist guerrilla offensive in the countryside, with the greatest threat yet to his 15-year reign in Manila. Heavily dependent on Ver's control of the armed forces, the president must now chart a careful course that exacts justice for Aquino's killers without losing the confidence of the military.

A test that bombed

It was meant to test the reflexes of British security. But when a personal bodyguard to visiting French President François Mitterrand last week admitted planting explosives in the grounds of the French ambassador's residence in London, the incident swiftly became a test of international relations. Specially trained tracking dogs quickly found the explosives after French officials invited London police to check the embassy. The explosives were unexploded and therefore harmless. Still, they managed to trigger a torrent of angry protests from British politicians. The incident followed by less than two weeks a deadly 18a bomb attack on

members of Britain's ruling Conservative Party during their annual convention in Brighton. And the opposition Labour Party's spokesman for European affairs, George Foulkes. "In light of the tragic events in Brighton, it must rate as the most sick thing to happen for years." However, while British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who severely escaped death in the Brighton bombing, described the incident as "most regrettable," she refused to allow the future to mar an otherwise successful state visit. Embarrassed officials of the president's office would only comment that the bodyguard had "carried out his mission normally." Ironically, the purpose of Mitterrand's visit to Britain was to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Anglo-French military conflict.

Unleashing the army

They came in the middle of the night—7,000 police and soldiers in full combat gear, moving methodically, house to house, through the squabbling black townships south of Johannesburg. In the first use of troops against its own citizens in 20 years, the South African government last week launched a massive crackdown on the townships of Bebeling, Bopeteng and Sharpeville. Its purpose, declared Pankaj's law and order minister, Louis Le Grange, was to send out "revolutionary forces" that have fomented recent rioting. Since August, more than 50 blacks have died in sporadic anti-government fighting. As last week's early morning sweep broadened, police arrested 258 people on charges ranging from firearms infractions to possession of pornography. Those who were not detained removed badges from the troops that read, "On operations for peace and security." Reacting to the operation, a spokesman for the two-million-member United Democratic Front, one of the nation's largest anti-apartheid groups, warned that South Africa is heading toward civil war. But many analysts believed that Pretoria, far from backing down, would turn next to the country's politically sensitive black trade unions, considered another source of subversive activity. The storm here was potentially unleashed when the state-controlled media South Africa described last week's raids as an attempt to avenge the nation's "survival as a civilized Western-style society."

Rumors of border war



Zia ul-Haq stands firm

Three times in the past 30 years India and Pakistan have gone to war. Now, diplomats fear renewed conflict. Despite denials in New Delhi, Washington insists that India was planning a pre-emptive strike against Pakistan's Kahuta nuclear installations. Tensions increased last week as Pakistan staged elaborate war games near the Indian border. In one exercise, troops changed fire along the 50,000-foot Swatish Glacier in the disputed Kashmir region. Meanwhile, the Pakistani regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq requested sophisticated military hardware from the United States. Pakistan officials discounted rumors of a new war but admitted that relations with India had reached a low point. Still, foreign ministry spokesman Abdul Sattar. "We want to avoid [open conflict], but in the current atmosphere, negotiations seem difficult."



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An assault on the Crowns

By Terry Hargreaves
and Ann Pinlayson

Less than a week before the Sept. 4 elections, Tory leader Brian Mulroney declared that a new Conservative government would take a hard, critical look at Crown-owned companies Canada's 496 Crown corporations, he charged, "have become a state within a state, spending \$44 billion a year." Then, his new government acted, tackling one of the country's most visible and influential organizations, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) last week. According to government sources in Ottawa, Communications Minister Ronald Masniak has ordered the CBC to cut between \$138 million and \$150 million from its \$1.08-billion 1985 budget. The move against the CBC followed Mulroney's decision earlier in the week to break a long-standing precedent and make public the salary ranges of more than 50 Crown corporation heads, including that of CBC president Pierre Jussau. The salary figures, released by Mulroney after a meeting of his inner cabinet at the government's retreat at Mount Lake, Quebec, on Tuesday, indicate that several corporations heads, including Petro-Canada chairman Wilbert Piggier and J.M. MacDonald, president of Canadian National Railways, will earn between \$200,000 and \$250,000 this year. Masniak, who earns \$136,000 as Prime Minister, "take any company in the business sector and they will tell you those are pretty handsome salaries for anyone running a corporation that does not have to declare a profit."

These developments were only the opening volley in the Conservative government's campaign to pare the operations of federally owned firms, which employ 306,000 people and control assets worth \$40 billion. In some cases Ottawa plans to bring in new management, especially to corporations run by Liberal appointees and to those that are chronic money-losers. Rumors abound in government circles that Jussau and Joel Bell, president of the Canada Development Investment Corp. (CIDA), a holding company that runs a host of firms, including soap-maker Canadian Ltd., will soon resign. More dramatically, the government is considering selling off several high-profit firms. They include a number of companies controlled by the CBC, Air Canada, and Telcel Canada, which handles inter-



Petro-Canada's Calgary headquarters: Budget cutbacks and hiring freezes

national telecommunications by satellite. At the same time, other incumbent companies will be phased out completely.

Members of the CBC budget cuts had been circulating since the Tory election victory. But Mulroney's move came through the network's offices across the country when Masniak's demand for a reduction became known. In the wake of the publicity that ensued, Masniak held his first meeting with Jussau's senior staff on Oct. 1, after the one-hour session, Jussau, 62, emerged to deny that a cut of \$150 million was in store. He conceded that the CBC's \$695 million in federal funding this year will be reduced, but he added that all government operations must expect the same. Rod Jenson, "It would be ridiculous to think that the CBC will be the only exception." Although Jenson refused to confirm the size of the cuts, sources at the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commis-

sion on Nov. 8. The minister declared that week that he intends to "take a look at the whole range of government spending." At the same time, Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion Richard Stevens confirmed that he has had inquiries from private companies interested in buying at least one Crown corporation. Stevens refused to name the company but he added, "We believe in privatization, and probably we will have something to say about that soon. Just let me have a little more time and I will clear the air."

One of Mulroney's motives in revealing executive salaries seemed to be to focus public scrutiny on the costs of operating federally owned firms. If that was the case, his announcement had the desired effect. Headed the salary list of 25 highly paid executives was Petro-Canada's Piggier, who earned \$141,000 last year in wages, directors' fees and bonuses. He was followed by his pres-



Molter (left), Jussau, CBC spokesman and up to 2,000 jobs could be the threat

sion (CRTC), the broadcasting regulatory agency, said that they will range from \$138 million to \$150 million.

CBC spokesmen said that such a large cutback will force the network to abandon its expansion plans and will threaten the jobs of as many as 2,000 of its 18,000 employees. They also outgasted hiring freezes and the consolidation of efforts to increase Canadian content on premises television. Many employees were bitter. Ron Haggart, senior producer of CBC's highly regarded current affairs show, *The Fifth Estate*, declared, "It is a mistake, a great mistake, to take advantage of the fact that the CBC is an easy and unfortunately political target."

Finance Minister Michael Wilson is expected to announce details of the CBC

cuts, Edward Lakota, who started his own \$500 and \$134,300. Lakota also received \$200,000 more from subsidiary or associated corporations.

Those and similar salaries, critics quickly pointed out, are considerably lower than the compensation paid to many top executives in the private sector. In 1983 Imperial Oil chairman Lord Melville, for one, earned \$146,156 in salary alone. Mulroney and that he has "no quarrel with paying someone top dollar for expertise and productivity in the public sector and that he was 'unimpressed but not astonished' by the amounts involved. But his presence and benevolence alone was the Canadian as a clear signal of the government's desire to keep Crown corporations under a tight rein.

The Tories will retain a number of critical decisions on the future of the publicly owned firms. Air Canada chairman Claude Taylor, currently earning a salary of \$164,000-\$200,000 range, is an enthusiastic and outspoken supporter of privatizing Canada's largest airline, which turned a profit of \$1 million last year after a \$33-million loss in 1982. He says that the partial deregulation of Canadian airlines, which took place last summer, may make privatization "inevitable."

The CBC has been the target of Tory attacks ever since the Liberal government set it up in 1932 to oversee its investments. The Conservatives will likely sell the giant holding company or submit it to a major reorganization. The network's 1985 operating losses of \$10 million at Harbinger Aircraft of Canada Ltd., both of which have suffered spectacular losses in the past few years. In 1982 Canadian reported a deficit of \$1.4 billion, the largest loss in Canadian corporate history. The CBC will ask the government for still more money this year to assist the two companies. According to government sources, even if a loan cannot be found for the entire year, the Canadian production company, which backs the *Challenger* corporate jet, will attempt a buyout.

Government sources also say that at least two other Crown corporations could be up for sale soon. Northern Transportation Co. Ltd., a shipping firm that operates on the Mackenzie River and elsewhere in the Canadian North, has a healthy balance sheet and \$45 million in assets. And Telcel Canada, which enjoys a monopoly over external telecommunications services, would be attractive to private buyers if the government is prepared to offer a guarantee that the company would not face competition.

But at least two other corporations face the possibility that they will be phased out rather than sold. The Canadian Commercial Corp., which assists Canadian companies in international trade, and Petro-Canada, which is a subsidiary of a Petro-Canada subsidiary which last year spent \$50 million helping Third World countries drill for oil and gas, are likely casualties. Still, Petro-Canada itself may come through unaffected. If new government officials "Petro-Canada" will be required to operate on sound business practices and be self-sufficient. But we are not going to privatize it."

Be far, the CBC has been the only Crown firm to openly feel the direct effects of the Tories' housecleaning operation. But for many other public firms in the government-owned empire, the ship has just begun.

With Charles Rowland in Toronto



Buying high-tech goods in Peking: taste of the good life and panic buying

China's new capitalists

In Peking consumers reacted by going on a panic buying spree for food because they feared that the price of necessities would suddenly go up. The cause of their concern: the most substantial step yet by China's 80-year-old leader, Deng Xiaoping, in an eight-year campaign to revitalize the nation's \$700-billion economy through a series of capitalist-style innovations. In the latest move, the Communist Party's Central Committee ended a week-long session in Peking by endorsing a 30-page document clearly stamped with Deng's vision of China's future.

Communist Party general secretary Hu Yaobang characterized the changes, to take effect in January, as the most important since the 1949 revolution transformed China from a feudalist to a communist society. Western experts agreed. Said Robert Rozman, a director of Goldman Sachs & Co., a New York-based investment firm: "If China continues in this direction, we will really be seeing one of the remarkable economic events of the 20th century."

Since succeeding Chairman Mao Tse-tung as China's supreme leader in 1976, Deng has carried out a massive modernization of the country's economy. First,

he encouraged foreign investment in a bid to meet his goal of quadrupling industrial and agricultural production by the year 2000. Then, in 1979 he revolutionized agriculture by restoring family owned farms and encouraging the nation's rural population of 300 million to produce crops that they can sell privately.

Now, Deng is instituting similar reforms in industry. Prices for food and consumer goods will be set according to demand, and state subsidies for these products, ranging from 15 to 30 per cent, will be removed. Factory managers will have more autonomy in running their companies, and production—mad profits or losses—will also be determined by market demand. At the same time, workers' salaries will be tied to their performance, ending China's "iron rice bowl" philosophy, which guaranteed a job and healthy wages.

The Chinese, who emulated the Soviet Union of Mao's Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 when "capitalist roaders" were denounced and sent to re-education camps, have embraced on a rather radical scale—but the effects may be more permanent.

—JAMES FLETCHER, with Robert Black in Toronto and Wendy Lee in Peking

Deng: sweeping change



A long night's quick payoff

The session began as a routine encounter between negotiators for the striking United Auto Workers and the giant General Motors of Canada. It is used for 11 unbroken hours and it ended late Saturday in an eight-minute meeting between the full negotiating teams for both sides. Then, UAW leader Robert White told company representatives, "We have a tentative settlement." With that, what was heralded as a dramatic showdown between one of the 30,000-member UAW ended quietly, the 10-day workstrike was over, and workers prepared to return to their jobs this week.

The agreement—almost certain to be ratified in a membership vote this week—resolved a number of disputes in non-strike areas. It also provided substantial gains for the auto workers in Canada and relief in the United States as well, where an agreement covering 300,000 American UAW members was reached last September. The Canadian strike, protesting management's refusal to meet demands for wage increases and fewer working hours, had led to layoffs in the United States of about 40,000 workers.

Both GM and union officials indicated that the Canadian settlement was more generous than the accord reached in the United States. Union and company sources said on Saturday that in addition to their traditional cost-of-living allowance, the Canadian workers also won guaranteed wage increases in all three years of a new contract, adding up to \$2.52 an hour. The current combination of wages and cost-of-living allowances is \$13.07 an hour for an assembler on GM's original wage offer. For a first-year increase averaging 3.58 per cent as base rates—the same as in the United States—while lump-sum payments in the second and third years. The company also offered to add eight cents an hour to the base rates. In the United States workers also won a lump-sum payment of \$140.

Throughout the dispute the Canadian workers fought against accepting profit-sharing in GM as a substitute for part of their wage demands. In Canada GM had a profit of \$675.6 million in 1983, after a 1982 loss of \$75 million, and the UAW awarded that workers, who made wage concessions in 1982, should now be given a guaranteed share of profit in the form of enhanced pay levels.

Declarator White, who said that his associate will unanimously recommend ratification of the agreement: "All of us are relieved today." □



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Blueprint for a realty giant

By Patricia Best and Shana McKay

Glares were raised around boardroom tables in Toronto last week as Canada's largest real estate and trust companies announced their upcoming marriage. After a two-year-long courtship, A.E. LePage Ltd. and

belong company. The purchase allows Trilon to further its drive to become a financial supermarket for consumers. The company now owns enough different but related firms to allow clients to do everything from arranging a mortgage—through Royal Trust—and buying insurance—through London Life



Dimes, a long courtship, the largest share of the marital and a federal probe

Royal Trust Ltd., both of Toronto, agreed to amalgamate their real estate operations in a new firm that will be the second largest realtor in North America—after Los Angeles-based Coldwell Banker Co. With 9,008 employees, 300 offices across the country and \$300 million in revenue, the still unnamed new company will account for at least one-quarter of all Canadian house sales. That will almost certainly make the operation extremely profitable—but it has also sparked the concern of federal consumer officials who have begun an investigation into the merger's potential effects on competition in the real estate market.

Under the deal, LePage's real estate operations will pass into the hands of the \$70-billion investment empire of Peter and Robert Brudenell. Royal will control the new firm—with 50.5-per-cent ownership—and LePage will own the rest. Royal is controlled by Trilon Financial Corp., a financial services conglomerate in the corporate fold of Bracon Ltd., the Brudenell-owned

—to purchasing a house. Stud Trilon president Malcom Hastings, a former Hamilton Tiger-Cats quarterback. "It certainly is a step closer to our mission in life: a diversified financial services company with international operating units."

Although talks on the merger began two years ago it was not until September that the two companies discussed the deal in earnest. At that time, Royal president Mackie Cornsweat, hand-picked by the Brudenells to run Royal last year, approached Brudenell dealmaker Trevor Ryton, president of Brudenell, to complete the arrangement. Stud Hastings. "We always had it in the back of our mind that we would conclude that piece of business one way or another at some time."

The reason for Royal's persistence is clear in spite of the fact that its real estate division made a profit of \$6.5 million in 1992, the amount was modest in comparison to the trust company's total profits last year, which amounted to \$82 million. Stud Toronto banking

analyst Hugh Brown of Barre, Fry Ltd. "LePage offers Royal a larger sales force and a greater flow of mortgage lending opportunities. For Royal Trustco, it looks like a good deal." Royal also was another bonus in the bargain. Backed for its excellent management, LePage will have its chairman, Gordon Gray, and president, William Dimes, take over the same posts in the new company, with Dimes becoming chief executive officer.

The deal is also attractive for LePage shareholders. LePage is a private company, owned 80 percent by its employees and more than 16 percent by the Toronto Dominion Bank and its employee pension fund. Under the agreement, LePage shares will be exchanged for stock in the new company, which Trilon plans to make public sometime. In addition, Royal will issue LePage shareholders warrants to purchase nearly 1.6 million common shares of Royal at \$25 each within the next five years.

But by week's end LePage real estate agents, who had only been read a short memo about the merger by their managers, were expressing anxiety over their future. Royal one 10-year retention of the LePage sales force. "None of the agents has enough information to make a judgment. We only know what we have read in the papers," added the agent nervously. "It is a great way to treat your employees." Representatives at LePage attempted to dispel any fears. Said Dimes: "Not a single good agent should feel threatened by this merger."

The sheer size of the deal earned the federal bureau of competition policy to review the LePage and Royal case. Under the Combines Investigation Act, a merger is illegal if it can be shown beyond doubt to affect competition in a way that is detrimental to the public. Combines investigators will study the intercompany relationships brought about by the deal. The Toronto Dominion Bank, for one, holds large blocks of shares in both LePage and Trilon. And the Hochmann family, which owns the Toronto-based Olympia & York real estate development firm, also owns a 15-per-cent stake in Trilon. In addition, the Reichmanes own Bank One, the dominant realtor in Western Canada. Still, Combines director Lawrence Hunter praised his department's interest as routine. Said Hunter: "This is a normal procedure in a merger of this size with these potential consequences."

LePage and Royal executives anticipate that the difficulties of being together in one corporate structure will somewhat temper their current enthusiasm. Says Ryton's Hastings: "It is not the kind of thing you do overnight." Once implemented, it seems, have to expect a period of adjustment in a new relationship.



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Culver: success after Arctic negotiations, expansion plans and melted rivals

Alcan's quest to be 'Mr. Big'

For Alcan Aluminum Ltd. of Montreal the action represented a bold step in its plan to become the largest producer and marketer of aluminum in the world. Last week after 11 months of hectic negotiations with U.S. officials in Washington, executives at the corporate giant, 12600 rue des Pins (1000 sq ft) were quietly receiving a favorable ruling by U.S. federal regulators. Arbitration officials ruled that Alcan can acquire the U.S. and Irish aluminum assets of Atlantic Refining Co. (Arco), a Los Angeles-based energy firm. When the deal, worth as much as \$1 billion, is completed by mid-December, Alcan will move decisively ahead of its arch-rival, the Aluminum Co. of America (Alcoa), in the race to be number 1. And Douglas Dawson, an analyst with Montreal's Livemore, Beaudoin Inc., "They will be Mr. Big."

Alcan reached a deal with Arco in January of this year, but arbitration officials began an immediate investigation into the purchase. That inquiry culminated in a June ruling by the U.S. Justice department, which ruled the acquisition on the grounds that it would lessen competition in the U.S. market. Then, in early October, Alcan's lawyers worked out a compromise with the regulators. Under the approved deal Alcan will buy Arco's Kentucky-based smelter, three rolling mills and two hot-producing plants in the United States. As well, it will purchase a 25-per-cent interest in an Irish aluminum factory which Arco owns.

Those aspects of the deal did not concern the arbitral officials. Instead, they had objected to Alcan's desire to buy Arco's aluminum, \$450-million rolling mill in Logan County, Ky., which produces the aluminum sheet used in beverage cans. Regulators said that the purchase of the plant would double Alcan's seven-per-cent share of the \$3.4-billion U.S. market for the product and significantly reduce competition in it. Under the compromise, Alcan will split ownership of the Kentucky plant with Arco in an unusual arrangement—Alcan will own 60 per cent of the plant's product while Arco will own 60 per cent. The deal must now be approved by a U.S. Federal Court in Kentucky, which is expected to decide on the case by mid-December.

The purchase is only the latest of a series of aggressive moves by Alcan since 20-year-old David Culver, a Harvard MBA graduate from Montreal, took over as president in 1979. During the 1981-82 recession, Alcan outflanked its major U.S. rivals—Alcoa, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. and Reynolds Metals Co.—by keeping production high and selling aluminum at record low world prices. As a result, Alcan weathered the recession much better than its competitors and it is actively seeking other acquisitions to boost its presence worldwide. Already, Alcan's operations have up the economies of 50 Canadian towns and cities. Now it is on its way to playing an equally persuasive role worldwide.—ANN SHOOTER in Toronto

OPEC closes the ring

The stage—Geneva's Intercontinental Hotel—was a familiar one and the players had well-rehearsed roles. Less than two years after a worldwide slump in the demand for oil forced the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to slash world oil prices by \$5 (U.S.) to \$20 a barrel, six members of the cartel and representatives from two nonmember producers, Mexico and Egypt, met last week to decide how to counter a new round of devastating oil world oil markets. Alarmed that recent price cuts by OPEC member Nigeria—as well as by Great Britain and Norway—would lead to pricing free-for-all, Saudi oil minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani convened the informal session in an attempt to raise the organization's morale and strengthen its muscle in world markets.

Indeed, the meeting ended with a display of OPEC solidarity. In order to support flagging prices, the ministers announced that they would pressure OPEC members to make a major reduction in their current output—17.5 million barrels a day—in a full meeting of the 14-nation cartel in Geneva this week. Declared Libya's Kamel Hassan al-Magharbi: "There will be no cut in price whatsoever."

But not even Yamani's statements last week that the Saudis may also output by 1.6 million barrels a day—an action that will not Riyadh up to \$1.5 billion a month in lost revenue—can guarantee that a price panic will not overtake OPEC's little or so and rapidly discipline export members. In fact, many see only intense financial pressure and need to sell more oil.

Western experts say that if OPEC can successfully agree on production cutbacks this week, it will prevent a collapse in world oil prices. But even then, said Calgary oil analyst James Hamilton of Bell Gairlock Ltd., OPEC will be unable to stop a further slide of about \$2 a barrel on world markets if the more obstinate members of the cartel cannot be forced into line by Yamani, a steep fall in prices is as low as \$20 a barrel might ensue. That would trigger heavily indebted Third World oil exporters—and imperil the stability of their Western bank creditors. What is more, price cuts would depress the earnings of Western energy firms. Those hazards guarantee that when Yemen and Trinidad either agree to show down OPEC or OPEC will be watching for signs that they can indeed help the current oil price war.

—LENNY GUNN in New York

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A banker with street smarts

By Peter C. Newman

Last week's shuffle of 36 top executives at the Bank of Montreal was not so much the culmination of a struggle for power as the passionate shaggy in chairman Bill Mahood's determination to remove his company from the 19th century.

Mahood, a tough American entrepreneur who still has not taken out his Canadian citizenship, has raised the B of M's assets to \$67 billion from \$17 billion during his nine stormy years as the head of Canada's oldest bank. In the process he has transformed an institution that once qualified as Westmont's unofficial finishing school into a street-smart, world-class merchant bank. The most obvious signal of the change was the departure earlier this year of the Bank of Montreal's deputy chairman, Hartland MacDonald. This quintessential Westmounter (being both a Mohr and a graduate of Lullay in Switzerland) left to become chairman of Royal Trust and, even though he bears no grudges, by the time he eventually made the switch the bank where he spent 30 years had become a very different place.

Under Mahood's ruthless direction the B of M has become the most technologically modern among Canada's Big Five Banks. The coin has been high, not only in dollars but in the real-life appreciation that has robbed many of its senior executives of the ability to visualize any clear career paths. Many have resolved this dilemma by resigning, which is the main reason for the current promotion of the three down new executives.

Although Mahood gets most of the credit for marching the bank into its formerly strong competitive position, he also gets the blame for the damage done along the way. "My job," he told me in an exclusive interview the day after the bank's new appointments were announced, "for the past three years has been the operation of the bank. Instead, it is managing these large-scale variables, technology, the organizational structure of the bank and our human resources policies—the most difficult being the latter."

His most complicated assignment has been to bring the bank's international division into line with domestic commercial and repeating practices. "When I came to the bank, they had just had a real cover-up on the management of their international money position and lost a portfolio," he recalls. "They shook

everybody up, partly because they did not understand what had happened and how they could have taken such a beating. If you had experience in the world securities market, you understood the problem very well. If you have millions of dollars you are supposed to be high up in the organization. The greatest shock to our directors was that guys they did not even know could lose so much of the bank's money."

The system has been been drastic



Mahood, no finishing school

completely altered so that the international operation no longer acts as if it hold an independent franchise within the bank. "The question was whether the domestic matrix was capable of carrying a total integration of the bank's systems worldwide," says Mahood. "The answer was that it was adequate and it could be adapted to serve that international purpose. It was the most important decision made during the past decade at the bank, even though it got no credit at the time."

That decision so upset the proponents

of setting up a separate international venture that most of the departures from the bank's senior ranks date from 1991. Mahood's other priority was acquiring an operational base in the United States. This essential expansion was achieved earlier this year when Citicorp's Harris Bank was purchased for \$240 million. A stuffed pillow firm called "Hubert"—the Harris mascot—now has the pride of place in Mahood's office.

In everything he has done Mahood has tried to make certain that the relationship between the bank and its customers flows in a sensible direction. "Our customers," he says, "could not care less how you handle your internal arrangements. What happens is a list of banks is that the customer ends up managing the relationship instead of the bank. That goes against the grain of being in a service industry, and our job is to serve the customer, not make him do the work. Also, it usually costs you money because the customer now learns how to manipulate his interference with the bank."

The bank chairman's hidden agenda these days is to set into motion his own succession. At the moment his choice for chief executive officer is Grant Keeler, the former deputy minister of Finance in the short-lived Clark government, who was named president of the B of M in 1988. (The other senior officers are Stan Devine, who runs the Calgary office, and John Warren—another former Ottawa deputy—who is a non-chairman involved in international operations and carries out risk assessments for the 180 countries in which the bank operates.)

Mahood has promised the Bank of Montreal's directors that within the next two years he will have in place a new generation of senior managers, among whom will be found the half-dozen executives to guide the bank through the 1990s. They include: George Hopkins, Matthew Barrett, Thomas Wacker, Albert Balazs, Michael Hayfield, Edward Meadows, Robert Barnes, Alan McNulty, George Neel, Chuck Bartlett, Pierre MacDonald, and Lloyd Ackinson.

Mahood, who is only 58, is not about to depart but he did recently impress some friends proprietors in Virginia, where he hopes eventually to retire. But he says, "my wife announced that she does not want to return to the United States. She would prefer to stay on our spread near Georgetown, Oct.—so I guess we will."



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A renewed fight over abortion clinics

By Sheila McKay

Dr. Henry Morgentaler was in a familiar situation last week, enfolded in a courtroom battle over the availability of abortion clinics in legally sanctioned hospitals. Indeed, his appearance in Toronto before Chief Justice William Parker of the Ontario Supreme Court marked the fourth time in 11 years that the 46-year-old Montreal physician has fought charges that he performed illegal abortions.

Toronto police raided the newly opened Morgentaler Clinic in July, 1983, and Morgentaler appeared at a trial hearing the following November. First, defense lawyer Morris Manning launched a petition to dismiss the charges as constitutional grounds, arguing that the abortion laws were too restrictive. After Manning completed his arguments last May, Judge Parker rejected the petition on July 20, committing Morgentaler to trial. Now, Manning has put forward a new defense arguing that Morgentaler, two other doctors, Dr. Leslie Seabrook, 55, of Toronto and Woodstock, and Dr. Robert Scott, 37, of St. Anne-les-Provins, did not form a conspiracy to procure a miscarriage as charged. Instead, says Manning, they had acted out of necessity. Added Manning: "For a conspiracy to exist there must be a guilty mind and there must be a guilty act. In this case, there is merely a desire to bring a wanted and needed medical procedure to women."

That plea resulted Morgentaler's surrender to charge laws that he considers obsolete. In 1975 he served 18 months of an 18-month sentence after the Quebec Court of Appeal reversed a jury verdict on a charge of performing an illegal abortion. The Supreme Court of Canada upheld the Quebec Court decision and, while he was in his sixties, another jury acquitted him on a second charge of performing an abortion. Ronald Baehrdt, then federal justice minister, ordered a retrial on the original charge. On Sept. 17, 1976, a jury acquitted him again. But he would what would the Toronto jury returns in a trial expected to last at least one month. Morgentaler faces future court appearances in Winnipeg, where police also raided one of his clinics and laid similar charges.

Before the Toronto trial begins on Oct. 10, he took a full day of consultations before the judge. Crown and defense lawyers could appear in three galleries designed to select impartial jury mem-

bers. They were: "Do you have beliefs on abortion that might cause you to convict or acquit regardless of evidence?" Have you formed opinions as to the guilt or innocence of the accused? Would you be able to set aside beliefs to reach a verdict based on the evidence and the law?"



Morgentaler delays and jury research

Jury candidates also had to clear additional eligibility screening because Manning said a Canadian president by using two "jury researchers" from Winnipeg, D.C. Before dealing on a potential juror, Manning consulted Marjorie Phipps, a sociologist and owner of Jury Services Inc., which provides the services of psychologists, sociologists and statisticians to help lawyers select jurors likely to be sympathetic to their arguments. Phipps, who charges up to \$200 per hour in court, has declined her firm's services to the Morgentaler defense because she shares his pro-abortion stance. Her credentials helped select the Lee Ange-

les jury that dismissed cocaine conspiracy charges against car manufacturer John DeLorean last August.

The jury selection—of an man and six women from 182 people who had been sequestered—took three more days. With the 12 finally in place, Crown Attorney Alan Cooper asked them to compare the opening of the clinic to a robbery, as if Morgentaler had supplied two accomplices with guns for the crime and took a share of the loot. Said Cooper: "Although Dr. Morgentaler apparently did not abort himself, he provided the place where they were to be done and he was to receive part of the proceeds."

Cooper presented his case for conspiracy through the evidence of police witnesses. Const. Robert Williams testified that a clinic agreement had for July 5, 1983, showed that 14 abortions, at \$300 each, were scheduled to take place at 28-minute intervals on women who were between seven and 33 weeks pregnant at the time. Manning countered by reading passages from a notebook for clinic employees, attempting to back up his claim that that women sought appointments at the clinic simply because it took too long to obtain approval for legally sanctioned abortions.

At week's end, Manning continued to emphasize that the three doctors were not guilty because they had acted out of necessity. To that end, Marilyn Backus, an employee at an abortion clinic in Buffalo, N.Y., testified that 580 Canadian women underwent abortions at her clinic last year and estimated that up to 3,000 Canadian women in similar clinics in Buffalo in 1983. Abortive clinics that are not affiliated with hospitals have been legal in the United States since 1970. Added Backus: "Women who have come from Canada have expressed relief that they could not state a desire to have their abortions." But under cross-examination by Cooper, she agreed that laws had to be "altered, irrespective of personal views on abortion."

Despite the years of raging debate that have surrounded Morgentaler and their increasingly overwrought proceedings and with their enormous costs, neither the law nor the doctor's views have changed in any measurable manner. As the latest installment of one of Canada's most protracted legal, moral and ethical controversies unfolds in Toronto, a resolution to the water-tight issue of whether women should have easier access to abortion still seemed almost hopelessly elusive.



Montreal commuters adjusting to diminished services in a chilled office

LABOR

Out on a part-time strike

When 4,000 Montreal bus and subway drivers walked off the job on Oct. 18, it marked the 30th time in 13 years that strikers had faced 400,000 daily commuters to find other means of transportation. The workers still have to reach agreement with management on wage rules, but downtown traffic is not as clogged as it has been during previous strikes. That is because Quebec's Essential Services Council requires drivers to provide at least six hours service during working reductions. As a result, the Quebec council may have found the formula that allows public sector—and private sector—workers to strike while still maintaining some essential services. Declared Premier Robert Bourassa: "This is a very civilized strike."

Quebec has already used the system in 100 work stoppages but other provinces with a history of public sector labor problems are watching the strike closely. Last September, British Columbia, for one, passed legislation forcing transit workers in Vancouver and Victoria back to work after a three-month strike. Then the Ontario legislature provided Toronto transit workers from striking during the September visit of Pope John Paul II. Said, some Quebec labor leaders agree that the province's program to relieve the necessary pressure on both sides is a dispute to reach a settlement. But it is clearly popular with the city's public transit users. Declared John Hewlett, a 36-year-old Montreal office

worker: "These guys are going to strike at least once a year. At least this way I get bus service when I need it."

For the past two years the seven-member council has had the power to intervene in strikes that the province considers "likely to endanger the public health or public safety." Under its mandate, union leaders must give one week's notice before workers walk off the job. At that point, a government-appointed committee, with two labor representatives, two management representatives and a chairman representing the public, meets to establish a list of services essential during a strike. In the case of the striking transit workers, that involved offering complete special services for bus-dependent commuters and for shift workers requiring services between 5:30 and 9:30 a.m., another three hours in the afternoon and two hours at night.

But Frances Barrows, director of the Industrial Relations Centre at McGill University, said that the Quebec solution was "a good compromise" and less the public "to become more accustomed to diminished service in these areas." Added Barrows: "I am not at all sure that is a good thing." But council spokesman Andre Gagnon disagreed. Said Gagnon: "No one is saying this is a perfect state of affairs—but compared to what has happened in the past, we appear to be at an overwhelming success."

—ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH
in Montreal

A grudging nod to women

During their annual meeting in Ottawa last week 98 of Canada's Roman Catholic bishops held a spirited debate over the issue of their church's estimated \$10-million visit of Pope John Paul II. In the end, the church leaders decided to let their administrative board decide whether or not to wait for a third national election drive. But before the week was over the bishops had generated a more immediate and bitter dispute by their reaction to a report on the role of women in the church. Despite the moderate positive recommendations in the report, which stopped short of calling for ordination for women, several prominent bishops criticized its tone and content. The unexpectedly harsh reception soured the ad hoc committee's achievement and raised more questions about the place of women in the church than the report had settled.

Toronto's Kenneth Cardinal Carter led the critics, claiming that the committee had "imposed" discrimination and presented a biased and negative view of women in the church. In remarks which criticized Cardinal Carter, who had to leave Ottawa early because of illness, accused the committee of patronizing the bishops and dictating policy to them. Toronto Archbishop Bishop Leonard Wall also attacked the report's call to remove certain language from the liturgy.

The hostile reaction was a disappointment to committee members. Said Susan Forest, former chancellor of the University of Alberta: "I am no wide-eyed radical, I am a grey-haired grandmother. I am not saddled by the last opportunities of Cardinal Leonard. I am a university of Ottawa theology professor, said that the bishops' attitude will discourage women from participating in church affairs. Added LeBlanc: "It becomes more and more difficult to convince women to get involved."

By week's end, the bishops had accepted a compromise version of the report, and Quebec City Archbishop Leonard Veilleux formally thanked the committee, adding that "such expressions of gratitude may appear somewhat tarduous" in light of the armistice. Although it is clear that the bishops are not going to lead the fight for women's rights, their setback did indicate that they will raise necessary obstacles. —SUSAN RILEY



Kampner: You have never felt darker or happier?

Settle comic artist **Gary Larson**, *senator of The Far Side*, one of the most bizarre syndicated cartoons in North America, does not share his older brother, **Sex**, the balling him when they were children. Larson, now 34, said, "I thought he wasn't that typical for an older brother." That casual attitude helps explain *The Far Side's* sometimes

way, the demands of the daily show were quite a strain. "She preferred instead to berate my nest and help Furze and the boys with their move to Montreal."

Canada's major contribution to U.S. basketball was nothing less than its invention—by **James Naismith**, who was born in Almonte, Ont., in 1861 and developed the sport in 1891 when he was

a physical education instructor at a V.M.'s training school looking for a way to keep football and soccer players in shape during the winter. Last week another Chicago, 34-year-old, 6-foot, 8-inch **Levi Rautins**, of Toronto, signed a one-year contract as a guard-forward with the Atlanta Hawks of the National Basketball Association. It was the final day for team cuts, and Rautins had been waiting for 11 days to hear the verdict. "They told us just before practice," and the third

Rautins, "and I had five minutes to get to the court which is right across away. But I made it." His future in insurance business a Black eye as the injured list may take over Rautins' position in December, so he and his wife, **Maria**, 24, will continue to live out of state.

Film and television actress **Sherry Long**, 34, was at *Times* last year for her performance in the second-act of *Baroness Dine Chambers* in the TV series *Cherry* and claimed that she used her improvisational training with Chicago news troops *Round City* to portray her character, but left the scenes and dialogue to the writers. "We have writers who do their job," she said, "and do it very well." Added Long: "I am not



Sherry Long

Long: a stockbroker and a philosopher

Diase and I don't want to live in Diase." But now actress and character have one thing visible in common: both are pregnant. Long says she and stockbroker husband **Bruce Tyson** planned the arrival of their first child, expected next March, but would not reveal any details of Cheryl's plot. However, when the sitcom was in its first season two years ago, she did predict that the "birth-of-a-nation" relationship between Diase and her pit/bandage boss, **Ron Michael** (**Red Duncanson**), could not be sustained. "We can only do this for so long," she said. "Eventually, one of them is going to jump on the other person's back, or they're going to say 'Who cares?'" — EDITED BY BETTE LARSEN

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Mayan temple on the beach at Tulum.

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Gronoff and Mackay, the superficial images overtake the dramatic substance

THEATRE

Big Brother onstage

1984

Adapted by Peter Kohout
Directed by Michael Althenborough

Although George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* was published 30 years ago, not all of the horrors Orwell envisioned in his futuristic novel have come to pass. Still, there have been enough to make him seem a minor prophet. As a result, the past 10 months have seen a renewed interest in magazines and books about Orwell's vision of the world. A second film version of the novel is soon to be released, but the extremely protective Orwell estate authorized only one new stage adaptation this year, the world premiere of which is now running at Edmonton's Citadel Theatre. Unfortunately, the well-known Czechoslovakian playwright in exile Pavel Kohout's adaptation of 1984 adds little to the novel's reputation.

Although Kohout has changed some details of the plot to accommodate the limitations of the stage, his play serves the story reasonably well. At the outset, Winston begins to question the Party. As his doubts grow, he begins to search for meaningful persons in life and turns finally to outcast rebel John and his love, Julia, who is caught, tortured and horribly rehabilitated. Everything but their desire to remain alive and serve Big Brother has been driven out of them. But when Orwell revealed the

seductive power of evil, the stage lacks the perspective that the novel's narrative form provides.

In Orwell's original, the characters live out their lives against the backdrop of a towering, dilapidated city. Readers get to know them well as they move through their daily routine, caught up in the mindless machinery of a tyrannical system which Orwell's detailed description brings vibrantly to life. Kohout provides a sketchy background, and a series of episodic scenes which trivialize Orwell's intent and turn the essential relationship between Winston and Julia into soap opera.

The production comes up short as well. Under Michael Althenborough's direction, 2000 seats with disconcerting flu and starts in the intimate, 300-seat theatre. Brian Gronoff gives a competent performance as Winston, but it is only when the smooth Party functionary O'Brien (David Neri) is torturing him that Gronoff is really compelling. Linda Mackay as Julia has a bright, brittle quality that prevents her from displaying any vulnerability—and keeps the audience from caring about her. Designer Nadine Day has created a fantastic set that impressively suits the episodic flow of the action, but it is not enough. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* remains an important novel. By the time 1985 arrives, Peter Kohout's adaptation will have been forgotten.

—MARK SCHWENING

Saturday night alive, or dead

NIGHT, MOTHER
Directed by Mimi Potter

When a Manitoba Norman's haunting play 'Night, Mother' opened on Broadway last spring, it contributed mightily to the modern obsession of analyzing mother-daughter relationships. It also won the 1983 Pulitzer Prize for drama. Last week, 'Night, Mother' had its Canadian premiere at the Belvoir Theatre in Victoria and, with other productions planned in Calgary, Winnipeg, London and Toronto, 'Night, Mother' may be the most produced play in Canada this season.

'Night, Mother' opens in a living room and kitchen cluttered with a lifetime's knick-knacks. They are the handiwork of Thelma Cates (Charmion King), who has crested almost everything in sight right down to the tatty post-pornessed bedroom slippers she is wearing when her adult daughter, Jessie (Neri McMillan) joins her onstage. It is a routine Saturday night in the Cates household, a night of watching tv and leaving on coconut snowballs, and a night the two women have played out thousands of times since epistolary Jessie moved back in with her mother after the husband she loved deserted her. But on this night the tawdry routine is sharply broken. Jessie, serene and confident, announces that, after almost a year of silent consideration, she is going to shoot herself in the head. Jessie's announcement starts mother and daughter offing through the psychic forests and gardens of their mutually inter-related lives.

Although Jessie is the one with the gun, Thelma's is the trigger-finger which gives the play its tension. King, in a polyester parental, gives a superlatively performance, rummaging through her painful maternal memories with head-held-high dignity, she refuses to let even a hint of vulnerability creep into her motherhood. As Jessie, McMillan is the legend counterbalanced by Thelma's cerebral emotionalism. She fights off her mother's last pleadings and slips into the back bedroom with the headless woman, 'Night, Mother'—finally gaining control of her life.

Mimi Potter's direction is spare and dense. He leaves the audience with the impression that all he has done is lift a curtain on the Saturday-night lives of two women who might ordinarily be tossed into Lawrence Welk. And the play itself emerges as a neat masterpiece of poise, punctuated with the humor of desperation.

—JOHN HARRIS

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SAY SI TO SPAIN.

CANDU's grim outlook

New Brunswick's first nuclear power station has been operating for 18 months, filling a third of the province's demand for electricity and exporting more than 200 megawatts to utilities in Massachusetts and Maine. But success was a long time in coming. Because of frequent strikes by construction workers and late deliveries by equipment suppliers, it took seven years to build the 620-megawatt reactor on Point Lepreau, 48 km west of Saint John's—two years longer than originally anticipated. During that time construction costswere inflated to \$1.3 billion. Now, as a result of that experience, Maritime Nuclear, the agency that plans to build a second CANDU reactor in New Brunswick, wants local construction unions to sign a no-strike agreement before beginning the \$44-year project. Declared Richard Goss, general manager of Maritime Nuclear: "It would be absolutely foolhardy to build another reactor without a promise of labor peace."

The potential rewards—and risks—are great, both for New Brunswick and for Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.



Heir seeking the strike-free years

AECL, the federal Crown corporation which builds CANDU reactors. For the province's part, it wants to increase the \$108 million it now receives each year from exporting nuclear-produced electricity to the northern United States. As well, Maritime Nuclear officials estimate that the \$44-year, \$1.4-billion project would provide 3,000 jobs a year in Ontario and Quebec—which would produce most of the equipment—and 1,200 in New Brunswick, where it would boost a sleeping construction industry. But Herb Reed, president of the Saint John Building and Construction Trades Council and business manager for the 600 plumbers and pipefitters who would work on the site, said his organization is still considering joining the right to strike.

As for AECL, which formed Maritime Nuclear in partnership with the province in February, 1983, it desperately needs to sell another reactor if it is to avoid layoffs among a 4,000-member work force largely based in the Ottawa area. Over the past 20 years taxpayers have invested \$1.2 billion in AECL to design and promote CANDU. But the new Conservative administration argues that Crown corporations should be self-sufficient. Said AECL president James Donnelly: "There are no layoffs planned for 1984 but we are going to be doing our planning for next year, and if no orders arrive it is pretty obvious we will have problems keeping our staff employed."

But sales prospects are bleak, both internationally and within Canada. AECL has sold reactors to India, Pakistan, Korea, Argentina and Romania but, despite CANDU's reputation as a reliable power source, the corporation's salesmen now face stiff competition abroad from France, the United States and West Germany. Domestically, Ontario Hydro, the country's staunchest supporter of nuclear power with 31 of the 52 CANDUs operating in Canada, has no plans for expansion.

It is such a reinforcement of the possibility of another plant in New Brunswick takes on increased importance for AECL. As well, a new reactor would help reduce the Crown agency's surplus of heavy water, which CANDUs require to operate. AECL's heavy water plants in Glace Bay and Port Hawkesbury, N.S., employ 750 people in an economically depressed area but they have already stored enough surplus heavy water to supply three reactors. In the spring of 1983 the agency urged the former Liberal government to close the plants until it sold more reactors, but the cabinet instead approved a \$120-million subsidy to keep the plants operating until March.

Coke must first obtain a no-strike pact before the U.S. utilities will agree to purchase up to 450 megawatts of the planned reactor's production. As well,

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several health care are offered to help fund the project are also waiting for a labor accord before making their interest public. Côté warned that without such a guarantee, the Americans might decide to forgo power from New Brunswick's proposed nuclear plant.

Clearly, the controversies surrounding nuclear development on Point Lepreau have made potential American customers wary of becoming involved in a venture that could cost them to subsidize cost overruns through their energy bills. The New Brunswick Electric Power Commission originally estimated the cost of Lepreau 1 at \$400 million in 1974. One year later, with construction under way, the original price estimate had jumped to \$654 million, then it doubled again by the time the reactor finally began full production in March, 1983. The provincial power commission has argued that the cost overruns were in fact lower than those at all but five of 32 nuclear reactors being built in Canada and the United States. Furthermore, it blamed inflation and revised safety standards imposed by the federal Atomic Energy Control Board as factors pushing up the price of Lepreau 1. But, to make matters worse, strikes and work stoppages delayed the project for almost a year.

While Côté has strived to win a labor peace pact allowing Maritime Nuclear to go ahead with the Lepreau 2 project, there has been little public debate about the need for another nuclear reactor in New Brunswick. A two-member environmental assessment panel with representatives from the federal and provincial governments will hold public hearings throughout northern New Brunswick later this fall to gauge the economic, social and environmental effects of the project. Provincial power officials admit that they expect New Brunswick's power demands to increase by only 3% per cent during the next 10 years but argue that the province will need additional generating capacity by 1985. Their solution: another nuclear reactor with American utilities paying for surplus power that will eventually supply growing local needs. Brian Justice Brown, executive director of the Conservation Council of New Brunswick, maintained that the environmental hearings will not directly address the central issue of Lepreau 2's benefit to New Brunswick. As a result, his organization said it would boycott the hearings in protest. Still, it is an environmentally dependent region construction union negotiator, Reid knows the value of a five-year building project and has a vetoed out an environmental agreement with Maritime Nuclear. Declared Reid "There is no point being in the highest-paid tradesman in the whole world if you do not have a job."

—CHRIS WOOD in Fredericton.

MEDICINE

A substitute for pills

Modern medicine has come to rely heavily on pills as a relatively convenient way of treating a wide range of illnesses and diseases. But pills also have drawbacks, chief among them the fact that only about half of the medication they contain actually reaches the bloodstream and is able to perform the function for which it was intended. The next lodges in the liver and gastrointestinal tract where it is wasted and where it can often cause severe side effects. Now, a new method of administering medicine, consisting of a piece of plastic that sticks to the skin, may eliminate many of these problems. The device, called a transdermal patch, has not yet been perfected for all types of medication, but consultant David Pruthi, of Arthur D. Little Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., called it a "fantastic technology" and estimated that at least a dozen more products will be available in patch form within five years.

The transparent flesh-colored patches, which look like Band-Aids, contain tiny, invisible pores filled with a drug in a liquid solution. When the patch is applied to a patient's skin, the drug in the pores seeps out at a predetermined rate, and the skin absorbs it. Because the method avoids waiting in the gastrointestinal tract, it allows doctors to administer much lower doses than those contained in pills to achieve similar effects. The user can wear a patch for a day or more.

Currently, in North America, transdermal patches are used to administer only two drugs: Nitro Nitroglycerin, 1982, Swiss-based Ciba-Geigy Ltd. has been selling a patch in Canada called Transderm-N—the user places it behind an ear—which contains nitroglycerin, to combat heart problems. Ciba-Geigy and other companies also sell patches in the United States which contain nitroglycerin for treatment of angina pectoris, a heart condition. George Gelomb, president of Molecular BioTech Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., said the patch might eventually be used for a third of the drugs that users must now take orally or by injection. But researchers still have to overcome the problems posed by variations in skin types before the future of the patch can be determined. Chairman Dr. Maria Romanowski, of Health and Welfare Canada. "It is an elegant way of giving drugs—if it works."

—ROBERT BRUCE

THE SPIRIT
OF THE WHITE REINDEER.
ON ICE.



The dark side of victory

The Detroit Tigers celebrated their World Series baseball win earlier this fall with the customary ritual of champions spraying each other with champagne. But on the streets outside the stadium there was an untimely sequel event, in victory—a riot by 1,000 rowdy fans which resulted in 80 injuries, a burned police cruiser, and one death. Indeed, such outbreaks of violence are becoming almost customary after championship playoffs in North America, particularly if a team wins at home as Detroit did. When the Toronto Argonauts won the Canadian Football League's Grey Cup in Toronto last November, some fans celebrated by smashing three police cars, breaking store windows and setting trash cans alight in the city's downtown core. And when the Edmonton Oilers won the Stanley Cup, emblematic of National Hockey League supremacy, in their own rink last May, unruly fans at a street parade also broke store windows, attacked police officers and injured parked cars. Declared James Blumstein, Detroit's executive deputy police chief

"It has become almost de rigueur for sports fans to demonstrate some kind of inappropriate behavior."

In attempts to explain that violence, many behavioral scientists who have studied postgame outbreaks have reported theories that competitive sports events serve as a release for spectators' hostility. In a key 1969 study, American researcher R.S. Turner found that spectators felt more aggressive and hostile after they had watched college football and basketball games. Concluded Turner: "The results of the study do not support the cathartic or purge theory." Indeed, even Konrad Lorenz, the Austrian social scientist who popularized the theory of sports competitions as an acceptable outlet for aggressive behavior in the 1960s, later had doubts about the value of watching competitive events. Declared Lorenz in 1976 "Nowadays I have strong doubts whether watching aggressive behavior even in the guise of sports has any cathartic effect at all."

The link between aggression and off the field is more apparent in a context sport such as football. But baseball

has its own tradition of on-field violence, most evident in the baseball—a pitch deliberately thrown at a batter's head. Blanton, for one, notes that this year's professional baseball season was particularly rife with such tactics as the Atlanta Braves and San Diego Padres engaging in head-banging brawls after pitchers knocked down batters with baseballs. Clearly, sliding into second base with spikes held high has been an accepted part of baseball at least since the 1890s when famed Tigers batter Ty Cobb repeatedly charged his "baseball" cleats in the dugout to stir trouble opening fielders. With such behavior as fuel, some social scientists speculate that the fans who rioted after the World Series may have been trying to participate in the victory by emulating players who earn high status and huge salaries through their aggressiveness.

However, Joseph Allen, a sociologist at Wayne State University in Detroit, stressed, that the riots and rowdiness that follow North American sports events pale in comparison to the fan violence that routinely accompanies many soccer matches in Europe. Still, after their experience with hockey fans this year, Edmonton police may be quietly pleased that the hometown Oilers took so lightly to qualify this year for the Grey Cup, scheduled to be played in that city Nov. 25.

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FOR THE RECORD

Maturing musically

By Nicholas Jennings

When Bob Dylan first played in his guitar and strummed an electrified chord, the guru of 1960s folk music sent shock waves through the ranks of his followers. But Dylan, like his Canadian peers Neil Young and Joel Mitchell, was merely moving with the times. While the rock and jazz directions that Young and Mitchell pursued led them to stardom and an enviable international audience, other Canadian singer-songwriters of that decade stayed home to improve their performing and recording skills. Recent albums by four of those artists—Murray McLauchlan, Ann Mertine, Mendelson Joe and David Wilent—demonstrate that it is possible to survive the fickle shifts of pop music with one's craft intact.

Staying true to their musical origins has been difficult for all four artists because it has meant that their audiences, while dedicated, have remained small. In recent years Murray McLauchlan, for one, found the impetus to abandon his folk singer self in the quest for pop appeal. He released several albums which both studio arrangements marred so badly that old fans grew alienated and new ones failed to materialize. Last year's *Timberline* put McLauchlan back on track, with heart-felt folk songs about horses, trains and working people—themes he wears as comfortably as his old fedora. His latest album, *Merron* (True North/CMG), confirms his return to a style that spawned his best work, songs now a decade old such as *Heavenly Bird* and *Farmer's Song*.

Merron evolved from McLauchlan's 1984 CBC Radio series of 50-minute interviews and songs about Canadians, which, he says, "breathed a sense of spirit." The 12 songs are confident, loving tributes to rail way workers, bush pilots, sailors, trappers and artists—for the most part, rugged individuals and honest Algonquin types who fit the traditional folk mould. *Heavenly Bird* concerns the "steel rail" spouse of a railway engineer from Northern Ontario with charging saddle and wailing steel guitar. McLauchlan's musical portrait of Toronto painter Robert Markie, *Barroom Justice* and McLauchlan's, cleverly exploits the band between the artist and a strapper in two lines: "He knew of her slavery/She knew too well the human race." But in the most touching song on the album, *Somewhere, Somewhere*,



McLauchlan authors of folkie fables

McLauchlan exists aside the melody like to portray sensitively one of society's victims, Ken Sakamoto, whose "eyes were all wrong for a cowboy"—and whose Japanese-Canadian family was interned by the government during the Second World War. "Mama and Daddy," says McLauchlan softly, for Sakamoto, "you never passed as/The wrong that was done to you." In that simple 4½-minute song, McLauchlan clearly conveys the victim's role in an ugly chapter in Canadian history and reaffirms the folk singer's spirit.

Singer-songwriter Ann Mertine's music output had been clear from the moment she made her debut in a Vancouver coffeehouse at 16. She so impressed one member of the audience—legendary American folk singer Josh White—that he took her on tour with him the following year. At 35, the South African-born Mertine has carved theatre, film and recording careers that have taken her to the brink of international stardom—but still not over the top. In her new album, *Bright River* (Neworld/WEA), she may have found the key to wider commercial success with the help of Dorian O'Doherty, her new producer, and a co-writer, Paul Berlin, who has worked with her on one of the album's 16 songs. *Encounter* finds Mertine's voice—a stunningly like-soprano—from the overtones and ponder-



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and backstage trappings of earlier albums, in favor of a fresher pop sound. She sings with her usual spiritual intensity in songs such as *Sadness of the Tribe*, about injustice in her South African homeland. But Martine's contrabass, which she intimately with pared-down arrangements and the deftly textured keyboards of Genevieve Coleman, demonstrating a newfound knack of expressing more with less. On some of the album's slower numbers Martine still falls into an airy, breathless and theatrical whisper. But *Reverence* also has wondrous rock and melodic

moments enough room to stretch. Toronto songwriter Mondragon Joe appears to have no trouble expressing his whimsical, pugnacious self on vinyl. His problems have been finding a record company that wanted to carry his sound to the world. As Joe Mondragon he tasted stardom briefly in the late 1960s when a group he formed with guitarist Mike McKinnis—Mike's *Moonlight* Moonlight—became the country's most celebrated blues band, and when a 1971 song that he wrote, *Got Down To Business*, hit. Then Joe went solo and reworked his name. Because even his fans admit that

his music, like squid, is an acquired taste, none of the nine record companies he has had in the main: his kept him for long.

Now Alberta's Stany Plain Records will test the current market with a compilation of his past and unreleased songs, *The Name of the Game Ain't* Schmidt (Stany Records). Subtitled "Some of the best of Mondragon Joe," Schmidt spans 15 years of his career, from the ranchy Mainline days to recent work with some of Toronto's finest session players. In a surprise attack on the legal profession, *They Ain't Take Your Pains* ("If you give them a chance"), Joe weds lyric acorn to musical. His electric guitar evokes a laughing hyena while Scott Brown's tubas spatters and grinds bits of melody. Joe takes a poke at his self-image in *Passion*, where he confidently sings "I am a star," then adds, "because people tell me so." But the tenacity of Schmidt is his splendidly silly ragtime number, *Thank I'm Coming My Markin*, in which he raves, "There's so many damaged people/Driving me, to be, insane."

David Wilson has also made his living singing the blues, most often in northern Ontario bars with his band The Teddy Bears. A remarkable guitar technician, who served early stints with his and Sylvia's Great Speeded Band and American singer Marie McEwen, Wilson had to follow the independent route to a recording career, releasing his own first album, *Out of the Woods*, in 1989. His latest, *Red Apples*, has the financial support of Capitol and features him at his blues best. In *Big Ding*, he effortlessly mimics the scorching licks of British bluesman Eric Clapton; in the decorated Bruce Springsteen he parodies the seagull notes of guitarist Jimi Hendrix. On his new release, Wilson has successfully harnessed his technical and comic talents in his song as a songwriter—perhaps closer than on the album's most casual number, *Genius*. Wilson wanders through a country ditty of a melody, showing off three distinctly different guitar styles in *Swampy*, he is making conversation with the giddy character of the title "Well there be cigarettes in heaven/How come rats don't like to swim?" Such versatility has become a trademark for Wilson, after pleasing between listeners for every year with his cheerful brand of blues, he deserves to be heard at home.

The music of Wilson, Mondragon, McLachlan and Martine, once the attraction at 1980s coffeehouses from Toronto's Yorkville to Vancouver's Gastown, has matured over the years while a multitude of pop styles passed them by. Blaring reed what they do best onstage, their recordings at last reveal the essence of their distinctly Canadian sounds. ◇

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BOOKS

The new chroniclers of crime



Peter and Margot Grims in *The Crimehouse Bookshop*; Wood, investigative murder is flourishing in books and on TV

By Gillian MacKay

It began almost imperceptibly, a brutal stabbing in Montreal, a body struggling near Halifax. Nothing to be alarmed about. At first, Canadian readers were too busy eavesdropping on clever murders in British country houses and sleazy slaughter in Los Angeles to pay much attention to the local scene. But before long, the bodies were piling up in such numbers that they were impossible to ignore. It did not take a top-notch detective to reach the obvious conclusion: In a short space of time, a pack of blood-thirsty serial killers had appeared, strangled and shot their way into prominence on the Canadian literary scene, altering its criminal profile forever.

Canadian crime writing has engaged as a force to be reckoned with. A literary genre which a decade ago was in disrepute as a country grew up to save the Toronto-based of able authors. Such names as Howard Regis, Larry Morse, Ted Wood, Eric Wright and Tim Wynne-Jones alone space on college bookshelves alongside U.S. and British crime masters Dashiell Hammett and F.D. James. *The Crime Writers of Canada* (1992), formed in 1982

by six people, has swollen to about 80 members, more than half of whom are published authors. In 1986 the group will host an international convention of crime writers in Toronto. In recognition of the burst (and activity), Lewis Pabsthouse the last week released *Fingerprints*, the first anthology of contemporary short stories by English-Canadian crime writers (page 186). Said British-born John Pearson, editorial director at *Twit*: "When I came to Canada

eight years ago I saw virtually nothing in the genre. Now the flood-gates have opened."

As the current spate of *Fingerprints* suggests, the tradition is still young. But a few writers are making a significant splash. Howard Regis's four novels featuring the small-town Ontario detective Henry Gougerman, the latest of which is the delightful *Murder Seen the Light* (page 186), have been published in the United States and England and translated into German and Japanese.

Said *The New York Times* last spring: "Mr. Regis has the tough, cynical, grumpy-eye novel, as developed by Chandler and Hammett, down pat. Let's hope Henry comes back soon."

Others have won similar international recognition. Larry Morse, a Toronto writer raised in Los Angeles, won a Mystery Writers of America Edgar Award for his 1981 crime novel *The Old Duck*, a sleazy tale set in California

about a peripatetic detective who comes out of retirement. Eric Wright's 1983 *The Night the Gods Slept*, which introduced the enigmatic Toronto police trio, Charlie Solter, was Britain's John Creasey Award for best first crime novel. In addition, the Toronto author won the newly created Canadian counterpart, the Arthur Ellis Award, derived from the pseudonym of Canada's official hangman.

Mysteries have been a hit with the public since Edgar Allan Poe gave birth to the form in 1841.



with his book "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." A century later U.S. crime master Raymond Chandler wrote "Show me a man in a woman who cannot detect mystery and I will show you a fool, a clever fool—perhaps—but a fool just the same." Some industry observers estimate that crime books, which include detective stories, mysteries, tales of international espionage and other thrillers, account for as much as 25 per cent of English-language fiction series published. Publishers confirm that it is one of their most popular genres.

Lately, people seem to be more keen than ever for best mystery in Toronto, to the point bookstores specializing in crime have opened in the past few years. J.D. Singh, one of the owners of Sleuth of Baker Street, said of the growing number of series titles: "It is the new fad. Ten years ago it was no-one's business. Now it is crime." Said Larry Longest, owner of Sandpaper Books Ltd. in Cambridge, Ontario: "It is the fastest-growing specialty." To meet the increased demand, Penguin Books Canada Ltd. has established a new line of distinguished backlist of paperback mysteries.

Make-believe murder is also flourishing outside the book pages. The critically acclaimed 90 television series *Star Trek: Voyager*, about a psychic detective, is in its third season. CBC is showing Howard Engel's first novel, *The Double Assassin*, for television, and adapting his third best-selling novel, *Wonder on Location*, for radio. And for those who want to play detective themselves, Toronto-based travel firm Wright & Co. offers weekend holiday packages in Ontario country towns, elegant city hotels and on a train trip from Toronto to New York in which guests are asked to solve a staged mock murder. Said tour director Laura Wiseman: "We are selling the craze."

Canadians are as hooked on mysteries as any other society, but for years they had little homegrown material to satisfy their addiction. The lack of publishing opportunities drove Canada's

most distinguished writer Margot Miller and her husband, Russ McDonald, creator of the Lew Archer series, to California in 1968. The British had Sherlock Holmes, the French had Louis Maigret, the Americans had Sam Spade, but Canada did not have its own detective until Boag Cooperman made his first appearance in the 1988 *Seaside Murders*. "I was never really able to understand why there was this dearth," said *The Globe and Mail* crime fiction columnist Derrick Murdoch. "By comparison there was a much bigger contribution from Australia, New Zealand and parts of South Africa."

One explanation is that the country's literature as a whole was too young to allow for branching out into specialized fiction. Another is that publishers were not receptive to a genre they did not consider entirely respectable. Said Tony Angier, past chairman of the Crime Writers of Canada: "Crime writing had the same stigma that science fiction had. It was not considered to be improving literature."

As well, publishers generally believed that a Canadian setting would not appeal abroad. Said Eric Wright, a professor of English at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: "I was warned by every one that Toronto was not a very exotic locale. I thought that was ridiculous. So did Howard Engel, whose fictional town of Guelphurst is based on St. Catharines, Ont., where he grew up. "I wanted to make visible a part of the world that I knew, to write about it as authentically as Chandler wrote about Los Angeles," said Ryan next.

San Francisco," he said. The authors' defiance of conventional wisdom paid off. Said Wright: "All the reviewers said they were intrigued because of the fresh setting."

But, as detective novelist style has emerged out of the shadows of new offerings. The sleek, engaging character of Boag Cooperman, a not-so-tough-guy detective who is disoriented by his mother and sonnets at the sight of a corpse, comes closest to being a quintessentially

Canadian character. Said Peter Grosse, co-owner of The Crossbones bookstore in Toronto: "It would be premature for CanLit to claim a style. We have roots in the United States and the British traditions but we do not have one of our own."

Despite critical accolades, no mystery novelist has struck it rich on the scale of best-selling Canadian thriller writer Anthony Van Ryn (Smith) or William Levitt (Neville). One of the few mystery authors who earn a full-time living from her work is British-born Sara Woods, who has just finished her 45th book. Her popular crime novels, which include *Kiss Murderer* and *Deadly Deceit*, are set in England, Scotland and have been translated into nine languages. But most other authors treat crime writing as a sideline. Said Larry Morse, who earns his living from freelance writing: "I would love to be able to write novels full time but I cannot do it." Although *The Old Dog* was an Edgar and a crime award in 1992, royalties have earned him only \$4,000. "The book got a lot of attention. It was nice at first, but then it began to bug me," said Morse. "People would say how terrific it was that I had succeeded when the reality was I had not made any money."

Still, the lure of success has encouraged many more Canadians to try a little crime writing. The Crossbones bookstore sells at least five copies a week of books that advise would-be crime writers how to sprinkle red herrings and choose their murder weapons. The Crime Writers of Canada meet regularly to drink wine at Maury College and hear guest speakers, including an one occasion a domestic operative who showed slides of suspect that had been stabbed, bludgeoned and disemboweled. Said past CWC chairman Angier: "If you are talking about morgues and the way a body looks as a slush, you have to know." Aparent rather, are sometimes attracted to crime writing because it seems less daunting than other forms of fiction. Said Wright, who wrote four mainstream novels, which were never published, before turning to crime writing: "People think, I could not write the great Canadian novel, but maybe I could write a detective story because I have read so many of them." The mystery story offers writers a defined structure requiring a puzzle and a solution. Said Irvine's Pearce: "Writing a serious novel is frightening. There are no rules, only 300 blank pages in front of you. Crime is a much safer game to play." As the books continue to pile up, readers will undoubtedly remain a favorite genre in Canadian literature.

With Sharon Doyle-Davies

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Tales of terror twice told

THE TALESMAN

By Stephen King and Peter Straub
(Penguin, 646 pages, \$22.95)

Horror novelists Stephen King and Peter Straub have both writing congratulatory comments on the jacket covers of each other's books for so many years that their collaboration on a new novel, *The Talisman*, comes as no surprise. Together, they lack formidable. King has produced 12 best sellers including *Salem's Lot*, *The Shining* and *Pet Sematary*, while Straub has won critical acclaim for many of his eight novels, among them the brilliant *Giant Story*. Wunderkind film producer Steven Spielberg has already secured *The Talisman*'s movie rights. But their book is disappointing. Neither then depicting such author's weaknesses—Straub's tendency toward ponderous prose and brutal imagery and King's one-dimensional characterization—*The Talisman* exposes the least desirable characteristics of the two writers.

King has used children as heroes in at least half of his books. In *The Talisman*, yet another precocious man-child, 12-year-old Jack Sawyer, goes on a quest on Earth and on another imaginary world for a magic crystal to heal his dying mother and the ruling queen of the other world. If he can steal the crystal from the forces of evil, good will flourish again. The parallel universe is inhabited by nasty creatures...including man-eating trees with smoking roots. Jack's allies on the quest include Wolf, a teen-aged werewolf who seductively licks Jack up in an abandoned shed during the full moon so that he will not be tempted to rip his throat out. And the rating hotel where the crystal waits is as forbidding as the malvolent Lookout Hotel in King's *The Shining*.

Despite their on-again characters and settings, the authors' literary tricks are obvious and clichéd. Jack always begins to feel a hifalutin sense of well-being just as some new horror is sneaking around the corner. And some of the images are difficult to picture—"floods" and "huffing" that "breaks" Bill, Straub and King knew how to use their genre to take well-timed shots at social targets. At one point Jack and Wolf find themselves in a miserable home far wayward boys run by an other-worldly lieutenant. But the book remains a fragmented work. While *The Talisman* tries to combine Straub's fantasy with King's horror, it ultimately achieves little of either.

—BARBARA RICHMOND

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Prof. Dobbs and the kid

SINCE DAIRY CREEK

by W.G. Mitchell
(Macmillan, 252 pages, \$19.95)

Professor novelist W.G. Mitchell is known as an outstanding novelist and, like most gifted storytellers, the author of *Who Has Seen the Wind* says that he has built his career on turning mundane reality into high comic adventure. His tendency to tease readers has produced some memorable fictional passages. But his attempts to write in a serious, realistic vein are less successful. In *Since Dairy Creek*, his latest novel, it is Mitchell as the spinner of tales who inadvertently stands the show, while his foray into the emotional depths of his characters founders badly.

The hero and narrator of *Dairy* is Prof. Colin Dobbs, 47, a teacher of creative writing at an unnamed university in the Canadian prairie. As the novel opens, Dobbs is in a hospital recovering from a near-fatal mauling received while hunting a grizzly. Dobbs' brush with death has led him to a deepening examination of his past, his failure to complete a novel and the collapse of his marriage. When his rebellious daughter, Annie, appears after a long absence, the two resume a quarrel-

some but loving relationship, which rekindles Dobbs' appetite for living.

Mitchell plausibly intrudes his account of the novel. But Dobbs' fascination with the bear often obscures their relationship. As a father his unconvincing life is a threatened "character" of the cranny, wisecracking snarl, much like Jake in the author's famous radio series, *Jake and the Kid*. When Dobbs explores the emotional implications of his bond with Annie, it becomes obvious that he—and Mitchell—are out of their depth. Mitchell reports most of their exchanges through crisp, often witty dialogue, but both characters seem so intent on scoring debating points that Dobbs' growing humility and wisdom ring hollow.

But if Dobbs is not credible as a parent, he is, at least, like his creator, a fine storyteller. Mitchell has peppered *Dairy* with amusing asides and some good comic characterizations. Dobbs' tale of

how he tried to bury a dead dog in frozen ground and ended up keeping it in his freezer is a small triumph. And the author manages to extract some fresh humor even from that well-worn source, the halls of academia when the pious university president, a would-be author, tries to cajole Dobbs into consenting on a fourth-rate novel that he has written, the professor's slippery evasion is worthy of Hemingway.

But the real test in *Dairy* is the great bear that nearly takes Dobbs' life. Mitchell describes the magnificent beast with astounding clarity. Before Dobbs shoots the bear he sees it snarl off with the corpse of a horse he is using as bait. Writes Mitchell: "Garland snarls his way from the stable horse she had lifted and now held cradled in her arms." Dobbs' obsession with the bear is the true centre of *Dairy*. The grizzly haunts him long after he has killed it, overshadowing the shortcomings of his bond with Annie and leading *Since Dairy Creek* a desperately needed potency.

—Joan Rosemont



Mitchell, bonds of wit



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Men and women in love

BY D.H. LAWRENCE

(Cambridge, 370 pages, \$24.95)

Of all the 20th century's major writers few have aroused such loyalty, inspiring and volitional arguments as D.H. Lawrence. The quality of his writing stems wildly from the unforgettable to the laughable, while his theories on human sexuality have provoked almost as much controversy as Freud's. The first publication of a little-known Lawrence manuscript, *Mr. Noon*, will certainly add fresh energy to the controversy that rages around its author's name.

Lawrence worked intermittently on *Mr. Noon* from 1920 to 1922, but for reasons that remain unclear he never completed the novel. The manuscript, divided into two parts, lay off in a cedar chest. Four years after his death in 1930, Part I of the novel appeared in a posthumous collection of Lawrence's short stories. The larger—and much superior—Part II fell into the hands of private collectors, circulating briefly in 1972 when the University of Texas bought it for its archives. Now that university's Professor Lindeath Vasey has edited and annotated both parts for



Lawrence pro-monogamy, anti-pornography

publication in one volume. Part I is one of Lawrence's more mediocre and unconvincing works, marred by a dislike against speaking or sexual love of play. Although Lawrence is popularly known as a champion of free love, he frequently argued that meaningful sex could take place only in a monogamous relationship. In *Mr. Noon* he uses the problems of a young male school teacher from the British Midlands, Gilbert Noon, to demonstrate the evils of uncommitted sex. A seducer who amuses himself by trying with a young working-class girl, Gilbert is forced by her father to flee to Europe—but not before Lawrence has exhausted the reader's patience with nitrides and pseudo analysis.

Part II of *Mr. Noon* is really a separate novel altogether. The *Officer of Part II* seems a very different man from his predecessor. He is more sensitive, more original and more attractive—naturally, because Lawrence is now clearly speaking of himself. Indeed, Part II is a thinly disguised account of Lawrence's early life with Frieda Weekley, the German woman who in 1912 left her English husband for the young, penniless novelist. It will never rank with Lawrence's great novels, such as *Sons and Lovers* and *The Rainbow*, since it is a first draft and lacks the thematic depth that rewritings would have given it. But it radiates a captivating freshness and energy as Lawrence evokes Gilbert's struggle to pry his beloved Johanna (Frieda) away from her family. Lawrence's portrait of his love is not entirely flattering to Frieda. Although he describes her as beautiful and "deep eyed," he also admits that she is a hysterical who fits from one lover to another. On her honeymoon with Gilbert she confronts him with a startling announcement: "Stanley had me the night before last." Because Johanna had met Stanley, a young American banker, only a few days earlier, it is understandable that Gilbert's state of mind starts to wear very thin.

True to Lawrence's vision of marriage as an unending struggle, the two lovers quarrel passionately and often, as they set out to walk from Germany to Italy. Their odyssey traces the course of Lawrence's own wanderings with Frieda, and he describes a Europe that in a few years was to disappear forever in the smoke of the First World War. As he staves frequently in the book, Lawrence hated doctors, yet he was one himself and believed in the resurrection of life's energies through surrender to the dark, passionate side of human nature. *Mr. Noon* varies wildly in quality, but the publication of the novel is an unexpected gift for Lawrence fans looking forward to the 100th anniversary of his birth next year.

—JOAN BENNETT

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HEALTH

The relentless cold



MacKenzie in class: medical backing for chicken soup as a flu and cold remedy

By Pat Glickensief

The months of October to March are the worst ones for schoolteacher Larry MacKenzie. Since he was a teenager the Calgarian has had three or four colds each year, most of them in the winter. "In my job, you have to be alert—you're on centre stage every day," said MacKenzie, 36, who teaches Grade 7 science and mathematics at Dr. Gladys McKeivie Elbert School. "But when I get a cold, I simply do not function."

MacKenzie is one of millions of North Americans who cough, sneeze and sniffle through every winter with illnesses that have remained untouched by any of the many recent dramatic breakthroughs of medical science. Scientists are still no closer to a cure for the common cold than they were a century ago. Concluded Harvard Medical School assistant professor Dr. Timothy Johnson: "If you do nothing, you will be better in a week. With aggressive treatment you will get better in seven days."

The experts have few clues as to why colds and influenza are three times more common in winter than in other seasons, although most now agree that the weather has nothing directly to do with the phenomenon. Still, new infections into cold viruses have evaded old myths about how cold spread and have led to better methods of prevention. Flu vaccines continue to improve, and, most

encouraging in the short term, experts predict that this winter the epidemic will be spared a major flu epidemic. As well, an experimental nasal spray with a novel active ingredient—human interferon—may prove to be an effective addition to the current arsenal of 50,000 antitussive and antifebrile products on the North American market.

But even in the best of seasons, colds and flu present a significant threat to public health. As many as 10 per cent of Canadians suffer from a cold at any one time, according to David Skinner, executive vice-president of the Proprietary Association of Canada, which represents 68 over-the-counter drug manufacturers. In the United States the American Medical Association estimates that the common cold and flu cost about \$5 billion annually in medical treatment and days lost from work. But the 100 to 200 known cold viruses and the two major—and continually changing—strains of flu viruses that periodically infect the environment do not attack indiscriminately: children under 7 catch at least twice as many colds as adults; smokers generally suffer longer, with coughs that can last three weeks; and people over 65, although less apt to get colds, are twice as likely as younger people to develop such serious complications as pneumonia and bronchitis.

As millions of sufferers know, flu is usually more severe than a cold and often is accompanied by fever and aching

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muscles. But colds can be as disagreeable as a case of flu, and, indeed, only a laboratory throat swab-blood test can reliably distinguish between the two. Doctors are still powerless to cure the one, but they have developed a well-known repertoire to treat their symptoms. In addition to aspirin, fluids and bed rest, doctors generally suggest that patients take decongestants and inhalers. But beyond these simple steps, the patient enters the realm of speculation and quackery.

One of the most widely used agents for cold prevention is vitamin C, which millions of North Americans now swallow routinely every morning. But independent researchers have yet to derive conclusive facts to prove the credibility of Nobel Prize winner Linus Pauling, who is primarily responsible for popu-

larizing the vitamin, that massive amounts of it strengthen the body's immune system and help it to destroy virus-infected cells. In fact, at the request of Mary Clancy, of Redwater, Minn., who suggested treatment for colds in neither a vitamin nor a drug. Physician Joseph Kirby, editor of the clinic's *Health Letter*, cited a Florida study which showed that the vapors of home-made chicken soup steeped in eucalyptus leaves more effectively than plain water vapor. Kirby said that chicken soup has no side effects, such as the diarrhoeas associated with antibiotics. He added: "It has a long tradition behind it. It might even be useful."

But while progress in treating stuffy noses and sore throats is languishing, research into the transmission of cold and flu viruses has recently yielded

some startling discoveries. Experiments have almost completely discredited grandmother's advice to bundle up in winter, keep the feet dry and avoid drafts. Despite the prevalence of colds in winter, experts now believe that cold and wet weather are not responsible for causing them. Dr. Robert Couch, director of the infectious research centre at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, Tex., speculated that spreading more than indoors could be the key. "The major thing that winter may do is put everyone close together, making it easier for viruses to spread."

Recent studies in the United States and in the Common Cold Unit in Salisbury, England, also show that viruses rarely spread through the air. Reported Dr. J. Owen Hendley, an expert on infectious diseases at the University

of Virginia Medical Center. "Cold virus spread most often from the hands of someone who has a cold either directly to the hands of somebody who is well or by way of some surface in between. Then the person who is well actually infects himself by rubbing his nose or eye." He recommended frequent hand-washing and keeping fingers away from the face to prevent colds.

In an experiment, Hendley had one group of subjects touch fingers with a cold sufferer for just 14 seconds a day while a second group sat for 15 minutes a day with a cold-infected volunteer who coughed, sneezed and sang at them. Members of a third group lived in the same room with sufferers but were separated by a partition of chicken wire. After three days, 59 per cent of the 18-member finger-contact group developed colds, only eight per cent of those who submitted to sneezing and singing fell sick, and all of the partitioned room-mates remained healthy.

Several researchers agree with Hendley's conclusions. Baylor College's Couch found that volunteers who were chilled for long periods caught no more colds than those bundled up warmly. Still, old cold myths do hard. Dr. Couch. "When I told my wife about the research, she said we had tossed the wrong thing. She said, 'Everybody knows it is not the cold, it is the wind that gives people the sniffles.'"

Since the introduction of effective vaccines in the 1950s, the battle against the spread of flu has been far more successful. Epidemics and pandemics around the world continue to move, but the two major strains of flu, A (influenza A) and B, and often create new vaccines each year in an effort to keep pace with mutations or changes in the virus' protein structures. Although there have been no studies yet to show how many flu shots help avert influenza, most scientists believe that the vaccines do keep the disease in check.

But there is one recurrent problem in the control system. Expatriated Winnipeg's Dr. Peter Talbot of the medical services branch of Health and Welfare Canada. "If we get a new strain this winter, the normal flu epidemic of six to 12 weeks may be over by the time we identify it and modify the vaccine." Still, most flu experts are confident that this winter will deliver no nasty surprises. The major clue is at the current absence of flu epidemics in the Southern Hemisphere, which generally precedes North American epidemics, and the similarity of the flu viruses that have been identified there to last year's strains.

Major epidemics erupt periodically when an influenza A virus undergoes a genetic mutation that defies vaccine

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systems continued by more similar germs. The Asian flu of 1957 and 1968 and the Hong Kong flu of 1969 and 1969 each afflicted 80 per cent of Canadians and killed one in 1,000 of them. The flu of the widely predicted event is expected to appear in 1979 against chances that major epidemics occur every decade. But many researchers think that another is set to strike soon. Although he predicted "one of those mind-bog years" for 1984, University of British Columbia virologist Richard M. Thomas cautioned against unwarranted optimism. Said Mathias: "We have had outbreaks in the past few years but nothing like a real epidemic. We are the now."

Even without the threat of an epidemic, illness across the country is preparing for a flu season by providing free consultations for elderly people and those with chronic heart or lung diseases, among whom the flu can easily lead to dangerous complications. Meanwhile, millions of ordinary Canadians will make their own preparations by stocking up on patent medicines for flu and colds. In 1982, the last year for which there are figures, Canadians spent \$100 million for about 34 million packages of over-the-counter cough and cold pills, inhalants, sprays, chest rubs and syrups. Although some of the products may be of questionable value, they regularly change the way the cold and flu epidemic is fought.

Spent Kim Parks, purchasing agent for Courtney Drug Wholesale in Saint John, N.B.: "Drug companies work on one or more aspects of the cold. If you have a runny nose, you can buy something to dry it up. If you have a sore throat, you can coat it with Vicks." Some physicians think that the potential side effects of patent medicines, especially drowsiness and harm to nasal passages, make them worse than questionable. Said the Mayo Clinic's Kivir: "The staff we see take them not only not helped but harmed."

According to drug specialist Frank Chandler of Halifax's Dalhousie University, cold remedies have changed little over the years. He pointed out that many modern patent medicines contain the traditional herbal remedies used by North American native peoples. For pain, their medicine men prescribed poplar and willow bark, which contain a compound similar to aspirin; they treat-

ed cough sufferers with wild cherry bark, which is still used in many cough remedies, and for stiffness they administered arnica ointments, which produce the same effect as modern muscle-relaxing products. Chandler: "Their success was based on very few things were effective, some were not."

But the success of modern medicines depends at least as much on superior advertising as it does on increased effectiveness. Said New York market analyst

can now be produced inexpensively but that the frequent side effects of the spray—nose bleeds and stuffiness—can be as uncomfortable as having a cold. Researchers are now experimenting with milder, less frequent doses.

Closer to general production is a unique product which builds on the mounting evidence that colds spread by contact. Kimberly-Clark Corp., the manufacturer of Kleenex tissues, is now test-marketing in New York state a



Cold war weapons: a North American arsenal of 50,000 antitussive and sniffling products

Peter Rebb, of Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner and Smith Inc. "It is a marketing game. New, improved products or product line extensions supported by heavy advertising are the ones that make the most headway."

Despite the lack of genuine breakthroughs, recent research has yielded two products with considerable promise, although neither is yet available to the public. One is the universal nasal spray that contains interferon. In the course of wild research experiments discovered that when a virus infects a cell, it triggers the production of interferon, which travels to neighboring cells and causes changes that block the virus from growing. Researchers in the United States and in England have found that 80 per cent of people who are given large, frequent doses of nasal spray that contains genetically engineered interferon do not catch colds. But, said Basil Guldberg's Cough, one of the researchers involved: "Although these studies have clearly shown that interferon can prevent the common cold quite effectively, we have yet to develop a practical way of using it." He pointed out that interferon

tissue treated with citric acid and pectin acid, found in citrus fruits, and sodium lauryl sulfide, a common ingredient in shampoos and toothpastes. The three substances in combination, he claims, are deadly to more than 100 different cold viruses. Last month medical teams from Virginia and Wisconsin reported that the new tissue kills cold germs effectively before they get onto the hands. Thus, in some instances the number of cold viruses transmitted to others or to objects in the environment. A spokesman for Kimberly-Clark said that he could not predict when the product will appear in Canada.

But as Canadians prepare for another cough and sniffle season, the prospect of effective preventive medicines available in the mid-to-future offers little solace. Predicted Calgary teacher MacKenzie glumly: "For sure I will get another cold before the end of February." For the time being all that sufferers can hope for is something to dull the misery—more aspirin, more tissues, soap, hot baths—and just maybe a measure of relief.

With correspondents' reports

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GENERAL ELECTRIC

Signs from the grave

By Gordon Legge

Onsen Beattie calls himself a "Franklin freak." The 35-year-old University of Alberta anthropologist has spent much of the past five years trying to discover why 128 well-equipped and experienced members of an expedition led by English explorer Sir John Franklin all perished in the Arctic 136 years ago. Last August, Beattie and six colleagues made a spectacular discovery at a frozen grave site, when they exhumed the body of a Franklin expedition member they found the remains nearly perfectly preserved by the Arctic permafrost. Their dramatic photographs of one man, 59-year-old petty officer John Torrington, immediately sparked new public interest in Franklin's doomed expedition. Elected the self-spoken Edmonton anthropologist, "After two years of planning and getting to know John Torrington and then coming face-to-face with him, it was really quite remarkable."

Beattie does not expect that his re-



Torrington's corpse: last expedition

search alone will answer all the questions about the extraordinary loss of lives on the Franklin expedition. But the latest trip—the third for Beattie to the Central Arctic, 2,500 km northeast of Edmonton—has advanced the quest. Last month pathologist Roger Ang, who accompanied Beattie and University of Alberta anthropologist Steve Denham to the grave site, concluded from tests conducted on tissue samples taken from Torrington's body that the young man died of pneumonia. "We found no evidence of violence," said Ang. "There was carbon in his lungs, not unexpectedly, since he was chief stoker on the ship Terror. He also had tuberculosis but the disease was not active." Beattie now plans to return to the Beechey Island grave site next summer to continue piecing together the story of a failed mission.

There was no thought of failure when Franklin and 128 sailors and scientists sailed from England in the spring of 1845 on a mission that had long experience into the Arctic since the 15th century: to chart the Northwest Passage, the legendary route to the riches of the Orient. Yet that first winter the two ships, Erebus and Terror, became caught in the ice near Beechey Island, close to Cornwallis Island, in the Central Canadian Arctic. Torrington and two others

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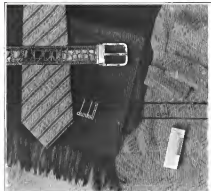
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more, and drawn in Maclean's Radio in time to soothe other people with a smile. Comfort and Joy is a very yet deeply felt tribute to the common man, Scottish subgenus.

In the pivotal role of Alan, Paterson acts with self-effacing restraint. His cool, understated performance matches the anti-paternalistic look of a film that is full of empty roads, grey skies and bare walls. By contrast, the sounds of Comfort and Joy—from the taped testimony of interviewees to punk-funk in soundtracks on the radio, from snippets of overheard conversation to Mark Knopfler's swaying music—are constantly important. Forsyth enacts in the quick, subtle revelation of characters. The more attention a viewer pays to this film, the more he is likely to love it.

Its action takes place against a war background of international crises, with Christmas truces breaking down all over the globe. Forsyth emphasizes the time of year in a host of clever ways, starting the Christmas Alan's worried bossesses about his contract. "Is there a willy clause?" But when the dist-jockey wails a local hospital, he learns that his baby brother provides sick and lonely people with a measure of comfort and joy. The phrase comes from the old carol God Rest Ye Merry, Gentlemen—and by refusing to let anything dismay him, Alan Bird gives sweet relief to tens of thousands of listeners. In his zoetrope way, Bill Forsyth is a sort of therapist. He offers audiences all over the world two hours of comfort—and a glimpse of Joy.

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 The Fourth Protocol, Forsyth (5)
- 2 First Among Equals, Andrew (3)
- 3 The Aquitaine Progression, Lindholm (2)
- 4 The Bad One (1)
- 5 The Tellurian, King and Smith
- 6 Strain Medford, Foster (1)
- 7 Isle A Country of Jewels, Henderson (1)
- 8 God Knows, Miller (1)
- 9 And Ladies of the Club, Scaevenger (1)
- 10 Tough Guys Don't Dance, Walter (1)

Nonfiction

- 1 The Protestant Land, Barton (5)
- 2 What They Don't Teach You At The end of Endless School, McCormack (4)
- 3 The Year of Assassinations, Thomas and Morgan-Wells (3)
- 4 Leaving Each Other, Thompson (1)
- 5 In God's Name, Sadeg (1)
- 6 Between, Johnson and Kishak
- 7 Time A Breaking Story, Williams with Leeson
- 8 Looking for Trouble, Harrington (1)
- 9 Gritsky, Grady and Taylor (1)
- 10 Tompkins, Jones (1)



Keston: a well-paced thriller that lacks in Carr's footloose psychological realism

A deadly trap for a terrorist

THE LITTLE DREAMER GIRL

Directed by George Roy Hill

John is Carr's best-selling novel. The Little Dreamer Girl was ideally suited for a film adaptation. Cinematic elements are an integral part of the plot, in which an Israeli intelligence squad posing as a film crew lures a British actress into starring in a multiple spy scenario. Preparing her to bait a trap for Palestinian terrorists, the Israelis have her set out the script of a convoluted narrative, which they simulate with Hollywood precision from the first kiss to the last glass of spilled wine. In bringing The Little Dreamer Girl to the screen, director George Roy Hill has studiously adhered to Carr's narrative to produce a treat, well-paced thriller. And most people who have read the book will be relieved that the movie has remained so faithful to the story. But a crucial element has disappeared in Carr's footloose psychological realism.

The most obvious mistake in the editing of Diane Kruger as Charlie, the English-British actress who becomes a pawn of Israeli intelligence. Kruger does not affect a British accent, and it is sadly amazing that the film never explains the apparent fact that she is an American. Still, the director's choice of Carr's Byzantine plot intricately falls into place. Kruger at first appears right for the part. Charlie travels to a Greek island to act in what she thinks is a wise commercial. There, on a beach, she falls

glibly in love with a dark stranger, George (Yorgo Yagotzi). She recognizes him as a Palestinian revolutionary who has mysteriously crossed her path in England. She refuses the idea of running away with him but is shocked to learn that he is a Israeli agent hoping to recruit her for a special mission. But after Charlie finally agrees to co-operate, her motives remain unclear, and Keston's chronic superficiality begins to pose a problem.

In Carr's book his intrigue on two highly unlikely premises that intelligence agents would go to absurdly creative lengths to trap a terrorist, and that an actress would work for a cause that she neither understands nor supports. The author made his fiction irresistibly real by wrapping the reader in the multiple layers of Charlie's persona. But in the film, Charlie is merely a puppet, although one with a high level of emotional vulnerability. Keston's opaque performance suggests little evidence of the raging doubts that permeate Charlie's multifaceted depth in the book. Unlike the book, the film hangs not on Charlie but on Keston, the elusive Israeli intelligence commander, and Klaus Kinski is brilliant in the role. As he conducts the operation with a masterful flourish and a mystical flourish, he suggests to his double a victory that.

Still, the film-makers fail to reproduce the underlying pretexts that make the book more than just a spy story.

—BRUCE JACOBSON

Playing mysticism for laughs

THE BAZOOKA ECHO

Directed by John Byrne

In W. Somerset Maugham's novel The Razor's Edge, Larry Darrell returns to Chicago from the trenches of the First World War in a spiritual haze. His girlfriend, his friends and the book's narrator—Maugham himself—all demand to know what Darrell wants to do with his life. His cryptic, one-word answer: "Lead." He rejects both an appealing, reasonable attachment and a lucrative business career and asks nothing from life except time to reflect upon its meaning. His philosophical quest takes Darrell eventually to Paris, India and a monastery in Tibet. Published in 1944, Maugham's potent tale of an admirable dropout has since inspired generations of readers.

Conceding Bill Murray's dramatic debut in his own adaptation of Maugham's Edge—the six-authored screenplay—results from a bargain he struck with Columbia Pictures in return for giving Columbia the rights to the comedy Ghostbusters, the studio agreed to finance and distribute his version of the Maugham classic. But the new Razor's Edge, expected in 1990 version starred Tyrone Power) proves to be a misguided,



Murray: a faithful interpretation

indefinite vision of Maugham's enigmatic novel. The direction by John Byrne is impersonal and self-conscious, and Murray's lackluster interpretation of Darrell compromises the basic integrity of the

story. Indeed, what Murray intended as his first serious role becomes exactly the opposite, because the actor reflects the strictures that Darrell's unbridled, ascetic character demands.

Murray even brings along his buffoonery for Darrell's global spiritual journey. In India the movie stops for a slapstick chase through the streets when prelates, starving children snap at Darrell's heels. At international meetings, when Murray takes Darrell's quest to heart, he switches to an irritating self-righteous manner. He performs his ex-griffined Isobel (Catherine Hicks) by saying "You just don't get it" when she doesn't understand his benevolent posturing.

By contrast, several other actors in The Razor's Edge managed their parts with beauty and grace. Deborah Elliott as Isobel's maternal, socially conscious sister, and James Keach as her monk, confessional husband, and melodramatic spark. By in the most effective sequence of The Razor's Edge, when Isobel uses devious tactics to spend Darrell's engagement to the fragile, ex-slave Sophie (Theresa Russell). But Murray is not a committed enough actor for a role as difficult as that of Larry Darrell. Perhaps the comedian should seek to far-thee down the path that Ghostbusters is.

—CRAIG PHARES

The Pain is Real

any people feel that it's
proper to talk about bowel
cancer. But for hundreds of
thousands of adults and
children, bowel disease isn't a
child issue, it's a girl's life.
It doesn't go away. And while
I don't expect you to feel
disaster how they feel,
it is something you
is understood...The pain.
The pain is real.

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Measuring a scrappy Irishman

By Allan Fotheringham

It is a great country where the son of an electrician can end the highest office in the land.—Brian Mulroney *Black Canada*, (Dec. 16, 1975)

In the truth of biographies that flatter, despite their intentions, eventually cannot prevent the truth seeping out. The attempt to skate over the weaknesses of their subjects only makes the reader more alert to detect the cracks and weaknesses in the noble visage. So it is with a book to be published next month that is certain to be a best seller, I, too, MacDonald's look at a language friend and valuable content, the *Joe* himself, our greatest literary Alger success story, our newest Guinness Book of World Records electoral champion with 21 seats, in the blue corner, carrying his wife's latest bell from Holt Rinehart, Martin Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of all he surveys.

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Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

which founded the town for its own good—so the adult friend who confesses that "Brian's main aim is to make people feel good when they're with him." There are worse goals in life.

With it goes the drive. In backwater Saint John's he always had friends who were headed to Montreal being him back books as he could expand that northern ambition. It turns out it was his decision at age 14—not his parents—to go off to school in New Brunswick because he knew it was better "away." There is the consistent pattern of attaching himself to personages of importance—Dis-

sonment, perhaps the explanation why Mulroney, at the same age of 16, reacted so bitterly and so violently at losing the 1974 Tory leadership to Joe Clark—when he realistically had no right to argue to the voters. It took until 1980, Clark now deplored as it, for the littleness to subside, and Mulroney, as one who sometimes flirted with the silver alcohol, decided quietly never to touch a drop more—added, MacDonald hints, by Bill's suggestion. The marriage has grown from strength to strength since then and Mulroney admits—and it's a true fact—he never would have been elected without her cool and calm.

MacDonald is weak on Mulroney's volatile spots—his obvious involvement in the \$200,000 slash fund that linked Claude Wagner from the bench to the Tory fold. He invariably takes his side when there is a matter of dispute. He reflects and shares Mulroney's low opinion of the Ottawa Press Gallery, which he says, correctly, was too long to detect the Mulroney tactic of ambushing the 1980 leadership by sneaking through the "boonies" Red throughout in the channel to the left's success. He's a barroom

Irishman, wanting everyone to be happy. His intellectual guru, Charles McMillan, says, "You know Brian, he's about as ideological as that coffee pot." Trudeau tried to convince him twice to join his cabinet. Chances are Don MacSwain, who wrote the lyrics for *My Fair Lady* and is now director of the National Arts Centre, says that whenever he sees the two of them together, they remind him of a couple of pigs trying to snort out. When Liberal Francis Fox was in darkest despair after resigning from the cabinet over signing a phony name to preserve an abortion for a lady friend, Mulroney spent hours on the phone looking up his spirits.

But the real assessment comes from Montreal friend Nick And, *dar Mac!* "He's a typical Irish friend. It's a positive thing, not a negative thing. He's not trying to make you believe in his radicalism. You know exactly why he's doing it and how, but you can't help but be charmed by it." It will be an interesting read, years.



ambassador, Stanfield. He became friends as a young man with two pivotal Quebec premiers, Daniel Johnson and Jean Lesage. When "unknown" Pierre Trudeau entered a trendy Montreal bar in 1967 and couldn't find a seat, Mulroney asked him to sit down. Within a few months Trudeau's name hit, and Mulroney watched with amazement as 50,000 ordinary people mobbed him at the same Place Ville-Marie. He then went off to lunch with an equally ebullient Claude Ryan, then, as publisher of *Le Devoir*, the most powerful journalist in Quebec. Mulroney was 28.

In the Montreal waterfront inquiry he held his own against two lawyers later named to the Supreme Court. Perhaps he tried too hard too soon. Pierre de Ruel, a Trudeau cabinet adviser who went through Laval law school with Mulroney, was always struck by Mulroney's maturity, a college student who "had the maturity of a man 45 or 50. On the other hand, Brian missed his youth." It's a brutal and very revealing as-



Thanks For The Memories.



Baileys. For the moments you treasure.

*All my love!
C.W.*